

SDPI
Sustainable Development Policy Institute

Pakistan: Country Gender Profile

Final Report

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List of Abbreviations (Pakistan)

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AKRSP	Agha Khan Rural Support Program
BHU	Basic Health Units
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
DfID	Department for International Development
DoH	Department of Health
DHQ	District Headquarters
EC	European Commission
EDO- H	Executive District Officer of Health
EFA	Education for All
EPI	Extended Program on Immunization
ESR	Education Sector Reform
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization, UN
FBS	Federal Bureau of Statistics
FWB	First Women Bank
GAD	Gender And Development
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GRDI	Gender Related Development Index
GRAP	Gender Reform Action Plan
GoP	Government of Pakistan
GTZ	German Government owned company for international cooperation
GER	Gross Enrolment Rate
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV/AIDS	Human-Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome
HBWW	Home Based Women Workers
HSSC	Higher Secondary School Certificate
ILO	International Labour Organization
IDUs	Injecting drug users
IUCN	World Conservation Union
JICA	Japanese International Cooperation Agency
KFW	Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau
LHW	Lady Health Worker
MCH	Mother Child Health Care Program
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MMA	Mutahida Mujlise Amal
MoWD	Ministry of Women Development
MTDG	Medium Term Development Framework Target

NACP	National AIDS Control Program
NMCH	National Maternal and Child Health Strategic Framework
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for International Development
NCHD	National Commission for Human Development
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NFAW	National Fund for Advancement of Women
NPA	National Plan of Action
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
NVTCs	National Vocational Training Centres
NER	Net Enrolment Rate
ORT	Oral Rehydration Therapy
PEMRA	Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority
PDTL	Pakistan Drug Testing Laboratory
PFF	Pakistan Fisherfolk Forum
PPPA	Pakistan Participatory Poverty Assessment
PRSP	Pakistan Poverty Reduction Strategy
PHC	Primary Health Care
PRHS	Pakistan Rural Household Survey
PSLM	Pakistan Living Standard Measurement Survey
RHCs	Rural Health Centers
SAP	Social Action Program
SBA	Skilled Birth Attendants
STD	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infections
SMCs	School Management Committees
SAP	Social Action Plan
SSC	Secondary School Certificate
THQ	Tehsil Headquarters
TRDP	Thardeep Rural Development Programme
UNDP	United Nations Development Programs
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
USAID	United States Aid in Development
WID	Women in Development
WHO	World Health Organization
WDR	World Development Report
UPE	Universal Primary Education
PTAs	Parent Teacher Associations

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Study Design and Methodology

A. Background

Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) is working with a commitment to assist Government of Pakistan (GOP) in its continued efforts aiming at promotion of gender equality, particularly, through mainstreaming of women in all walks of life, so that the full human potential could be mobilized which is essential for the overall socio-economic development of the country. JICA has also consistently placed high value to the principle that each country has its own social, cultural, demographic, economic, legal, and political etc. environment. Therefore, it is important to understand the gender dynamics of a country in its own given context, also by taking in to account both "emerging changes" and "chronic issues".

In the past, when Women in Development (WID) approach was adopted to reduce gaps between socially defined roles and responsibilities of women and men, JICA commissioned a study titled "Country WID Profile-Pakistan" in 1999 with a purpose to understand WID profile in Pakistan. However, now with an apparent paradigm shift from WID to Gender and from women orientated interventions to gender mainstreaming considerations JICA designed and commissioned this Country Gender Profile study with a purpose to understand the changing and non-changing characteristics of gender scenario in Pakistan. SPDI, through a competitive process, received the contract award and assumed the responsibility of executing the research as per the research design and agreed Terms of Reference (TORs).

B. Objectives

This study is undertaken with an aim to present the gender scenario in Pakistan from 1999 till 2007. The overall objective is to critically analyze the policy environment, socio cultural context, customary practices, changing norms, traditions and human behaviours which are having visible impact on women and men's socio-economic development in Pakistan.

This report has two main objectives. Firstly, it seeks to identify, categorize and expand dialogue on gender oriented issues as "chronic issues" and "emerging issues".. The report has extensively relied on existing literature on gender, which takes into account the problems of gender inequality in Pakistan. The research has also synthesized and extended the ongoing gender advocacy and dialogue to fill in the knowledge gaps and recommend suitable options for minimizing the gaps between gender policies and their implementation. Secondly, the Country Gender Profile aims at enhancing and expanding JICA understands in respect of gender gaps in Pakistan and to offer a framework for enhancing the efficacy of JICA's efforts to support gender mainstreaming in the country.

The sub-objectives of the study are:

- I. To assess gaps between existing gender related national policies (National Policy for Development & Empowerment of Women, National Plan of Action, GRAP etc.) and their implementation
- II. To assess the impact of emerging policy, social, cultural and economic environment on the lives of Pakistani women and men
- III. To assess the nature and degree of change taking place in perceptions towards women and men's roles, responsibilities and female education, health requirement, economic empowerment, participation in agriculture, forestry and fisheries
- IV. To identify and classify persistent/chronic and new/emerging issues from within the overall gender scenario and the factors limiting/hindering &/or promoting/favouring the process of women and men's changing social and economic development status
- V. To identify the areas from within the gender related policies and implementation process requiring interventions.

C. Sector wise Focus

The thematic focus of the study is on following sectors:

- **Education:** primary (formal and non formal education), secondary and higher education (participation rate of women in higher education, enrolment trends, reasons for decrease in male enrolment, adult literacy, and technical and vocational education)
- **Health:** Primary, secondary and tertiary level health care system and services with special focus on child & maternal health care services, family planning, HIV/AIDS etc.
- **Economic Empowerment:** female and male population employability, access to markets, technical training, availability and access to credit, informal sector, policy framework, industrial & labour policy etc.
- **Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries:** Land ownership, agriculture extension and diversification, access to micro finance etc.

D. Scope

The study was designed in such a manner so that it provides a comparative perspective, from past to present gender profile of Pakistan, i.e., from 1999 to 2007 ; with a focus on current national gender policies/international commitments, implementation arrangements established for effective administration and implementation of gender policies/international commitments, measuring the changes that have taken place in the status of women and men ; identification of factors that are promoting and/or hindering the implementation of gender policies/international commitments and highlighting the persistent/chronic and emerging gender issues/gaps and provide set of

recommendations, for minimizing the gender disparities and promoting gender equality for a cohesive policy dialogue, coordinated advocacy, and mainstreaming of gender in all walks of life.

E. Methodology

The work reported here involves both primary and secondary data collection. However, the data collection process does present some problems. While statistics are needed to provide evidence and unbiased bases for policies and measures, to evaluate and monitor policies and measures with respect to their gender dimensions, and to raise consciousness and promote changes, there are many constraints in obtaining gender statistics. These constraints include: lack of commitment to gender statistics development, inadequate level of and lack of consistency in resources, lack of updated statistical legislations, competing demands in national data priorities, inadequate planning, technical skills, and infrastructure required to develop, manage, archive, analyze and disseminate gender statistics.

Keeping in mind the data constraints, the following steps were taken:

- An extensive search and review of secondary literature that addresses the research questions analytically and chronologically
- A compilation/reconstitution of existing quantitative data to substantiate the analysis
- Selective primary data collection to fill up data gaps and assimilate a diversity of perceptions

Where statistics and indicators fell short, personal narratives and specialists' perspectives are used in deconstructing generalizations that undermine desk studies. Thus, primary data has been gathered through interviews (open-ended and semi-structured individual interviews), and focused group discussions with government officials, politicians, reformers, researchers, scientists, and activists have been conducted for this purpose. The focused group discussions, one in each of the four provinces and one in the Capital Territory, have been undertaken to make sure the study fulfills its aims and objectives holistically.

F. Gender- as a unit of Analysis

The struggles of women as a sex/class are the key to human liberation. Women's struggle for empowerment has been a long and winding one, which is not yet over. The reason why we must focus on women is because they have traditionally been the marginalized gender in patriarchal societies such as Pakistan. The "bottom-up" analysis of power shows that power relations at the micro level of society make possible certain global effects of domination such as class power and patriarchy. Power relations arise when there is a conflict, where one individual or a group (e.g. men) wants to affect that actions and lives of another individual or group (e.g. women). When these dynamics occur, in a

culture, women and progressive men alike need to take charge to change the norms that alienate women to a position of inferiority in society. The focus of this report is on women so that we modify the relations of power in favor of women- who are commonly referred to as the “weaker” sex. Free subjects face a great deal more opportunities and possibilities than those whose options are restricted by their male household members and social norms and decorum alike. This is the reason why emphasis must be laid on the processes and tools needed to bring about a form of equality in society. For this purpose, it is important that emphasis is on women, their socio-economic problems, problems of sexual discrimination, honour killings, acid burnings and labour exploitation in a developing country such as Pakistan. Without an analysis of the reason why these gendered relations exist the society cannot take a step forward for breaking the chains that hold women back. To change the role and status of women in society there is a need to change the discourse through which society operates – a discourse that works for the exclusion of women must be reversed to include them in all levels of public and private policy debates and laws and ideas that affect women, whether they are working women or housewives. Women need to be made central figures in the decisions that affect their lives. For this the pre-conceived societal notions of masculinity and femininity also need to be revisited in a positive manner.

Summary of Results

I. Preamble

Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) in partnership with Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) has undertaken Country Gender Profile study with a purpose to understand the overall status of women and men from gender equality perspective; gaps between gender policies and their implementation; chronic and emerging gender issues with a social change and development perspective. The period in focus is from 1999 to 2007. The underlying principle was to analyse the policy environment, socio cultural context, customary practices, changing norms, traditions and human behaviors having impact on women and men's socio-economic development in Pakistan.

This report has two main objectives: Firstly, the aim is to draw attention to the chronic as well as emerging gender issues in Pakistan and secondly to enhance and expand JICA's understanding on gender gaps in Pakistan.

The thematic focus of the study is on following sectors:

- Education
- Health
- Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries
- Economic empowerment

The work reported here involves both primary and secondary data collection. Keeping in mind the data constraints, the following steps were taken:

- An extensive research and review of secondary literature that addresses the research questions analytically and chronologically
- A compilation/reconstitution of existing quantitative data to substantiate the analyses
- Selective primary data collection to fill up data gaps and assimilate a diversity of perceptions.

As it is apparent that the status of women is not considered equal to that of men in Pakistani culture, therefore, the gender equality gaps are found more among women than men. It is for the same reason the report primarily focuses on gender issues of women than men. However, the research was designed to incorporate the men's perspective on gender as an equal potential partner to the gender dynamics, context and social change and development. The report aims at facilitating change and improvement in the status of women through evidence based analytical research and expanding debate on the present status of women and men.

The main findings of the study are as follows:

II. Education

- Education in Pakistan has and still suffers from countless issues including low levels of public spending (supply side inadequacies and under investment), poverty, cultural constraints and acute regional and gender inequalities in the budgetary allocations to education.
- Gender gaps in urban education are almost non-existent but they are wider in rural education since gender disparities are also higher in rural areas.
- The poor condition of public schools in Pakistan has a negative effect on the overall enrolment rates.
- Pakistan is producing more illiterates due to high population growth, low level of school enrolment and high level of drop outs.
- Setting up of Deeni Madaris (Religious schools) is not helping the cause either.
- There is a lack of co-ordination between donor organisations and GoP for improving the literacy rate.
- Emerging issues like poverty, violence against women, differences in government and private education, class discrimination, non-availability of educational facilities with the pace of increasing population, need for curriculum reforms, poor indigenous research etc are the key issues that should be dealt with in the future policies.

III Health

- The issues of health cannot be looked in isolation and broader parameters need to be developed to ensure equality for women.
- The health facilities for the masses are over-burdened and the quality of health services suffers greatly. The public health care system suffers as doctors prefer giving services to the affluent.
- The dependence of the Ministry of Health on donors in implementing international health strategies and programmes creates uncertainties regarding the amount and flow of financial resources and disturbs implementation.
- High costs, immobility of women, restricted decision making and limited information are major obstacles in seeking appropriate health care.
- Increased investment in the health sector with a clear aim to decrease the gender inequality is a central element of the government's agenda.

IV. Agricultural, Forestry and Fisheries

- Gender discrimination is pervasive in these three sectors.
- Majority of the women in rural areas are engaged in agricultural activities as unpaid family workers.

- Female ownership of an important asset or land appears to be extremely limited in Pakistan
- Technical know how should be provided to women in agriculture to enhance their income-producing opportunities.
- Until now not a single policy framework or administrative action with regards to socio economic uplift of fisher women and sustainability of their livelihoods has been taken by the government.

V. Economic Empowerment

- True economic empowerment for women remains elusive due to lack of attention and resources granted to the issue of women's economic empowerment.
- Women are increasingly working in the labour force but their voices are often excluded from international debates.
- The unemployment rate for women is many times higher for every age group; they are last to get jobs and first to lose them.
- There are no laws that contain explicit provisions for equal remuneration for equal work for women, protection of women from sexual harassment at workplaces, protection of labour rights for domestic workers and protection of labour rights of home based workers.
- Major barriers responsible for low female participation rate include inadequate recognition of their contribution, women's immobility, ignorance about opportunities and societal perception of women as lower status dependents.
- The major challenge is to create acceptance of a more public and active role for them that opens the pathways for their empowerment

1. Basic Profile

Basic Profile

1.1 Socio-Economic Profile

Economic Indicators

Growth rate of real GDP	GDP Implicit deflator
5.8% (2007-2008)	13.4 % (2007- 2008)
6.8 % (2006-2007)	7.8% (2006- 2007)

Demographic Indicators

Total Population (millions)		Female population	Male population*	Urban	Rural	Annual Population growth rate	Total Fertility Rate	Life Expectancy at Birth*	
								Male	Female
2006	156.26	75.14	81.09	53.85	102.41	1.80	3.28	63.9	63.8
1998	133.32	64.16	69.17	43.32	90.00	2.28	4.7	62.7	60.9

Sectoral Share in Gross Domestic Product (GDP)

2007-08	Agriculture	Livestock	Fishing	Forestry	Mining and Quarrying
	20.9	10.9	0.3	0.2	2.5
2006-07	21.8	11.1	0.3	0.2	2.5

Civilian Labor Force of Pakistan and Provinces by Rural and Urban (Million)

Province	Civilian Labor Force								
	1999-2000			2001-2002			2003-04		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Pakistan	39.4	27.72	11.68	43.14	29.37	13.8	45.23	30.71	14.52
Balochistan	1.4	1.19	0.21	1.74	1.43	0.31	1.91	1.5	0.41
NWFP	4.53	3.81	0.72	4.95	4.13	0.82	5.07	4.24	0.83
Punjab	25.79	18.47	7.32	27.03	19.05	7.98	27.85	19.76	8.09
Sindh	7.68	4.25	3.43	9.45	4.76	4.69	10.41	5.21	5.19

Employment By Sector (%)	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004	2005-06
Total	100	100	100	100
Agriculture	48.4	42.1	43.1	43.37
Non- Agriculture	51.6	57.9	56.9	56.63
Formal	17.7	20.5	17.1	15.37
Informal	33.9	37.4	39.8	41.25

Unemployment Rates by Region and Gender (%)

Years	Pakistan			Urban			Rural		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1996-97	6.1	4.2	16.8	7.2	5.1	25.2	5.7	3.8	14.6
1997-98	5.9	4.2	15.0	8.0	5.8	28.6	5.0	3.5	11.9
1999-00	7.8	6.1	17.3	9.9	7.5	29.6	6.9	5.4	14.0
2001-02	8.3	6.7	16.5	9.8	7.9	24.2	7.6	6.1	14.1
2003-04	7.7	6.6	12.8	9.7	8.4	19.8	6.7	5.7	10.9
2005-06	6.2	5.4	9.3	8.0	6.9	15.8	5.4	4.6	7.7

Crude Labor Force Participation Rates by Region and Gender (%)

Year	Total			Urban			Rural		
	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female
1996-97	28.7	47.0	9.0	27.2	46.6	5.9	29.4	47.2	10.5
1997-98	29.4	48.0	9.4	27.0	47.1	5.3	30.6	48.4	11.5
1999-00	29.0	47.6	9.3	27.1	46.5	6.3	29.8	48.2	10.7
2001-02	29.6	48.0	9.9	29.1	48.9	7.3	29.9	47.6	11.1
2003-04	30.4	48.7	11.2	29.2	49.8	7.0	31.0	48.2	13.2
2005-06	32.2	50.3	13.3	30.2	51.0	7.9	33.2	49.9	16.0

Employment by Region and Gender (Millions)

Year	Pakistan			Urban			Rural		
	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female
1996-97	34.13	29.53	4.58	10.31	9.45	0.85	23.87	20.12	3.74
1997-98	35.94	30.93	5.00	10.78	9.99	0.78	25.15	20.92	4.22
1999-00	36.3	31.21	5.08	10.07	9.19	0.87	26.23	21.98	4.24
2001-02	38.9	33.19	5.69	12.2	11.00	1.22	26.7	22.19	4.47
2003-04	42.00	34.69	7.06	13.1	11.76	1.35	28.6	22.93	5.71
2005-06	46.94	37.81	9.13	14.46	12.80	1.66	32.48	25.01	7.47

Employment by Major Industry (%)

Year	Agri.	Mining, Quar.	Manuf.	Constr.	Electric. Gas	Trade	Comm.	Finan. Insit.	Social	Not Defined
1996-97	44.2	0.1	11.1	6.8	1.0	14.6	5.7	1.0	15.6	0.04
1997-98	47.3	0.2	10.0	6.3	0.7	13.9	5.5	0.9	15.4	0.1
1999-00	48.4	0.1	11.5	5.8	0.7	13.5	5.0	0.8	14.2	-
2001-02	42.1	0.1	13.8	6.1	0.8	14.8	5.9	0.9	15.5	-
2003-04	43.1	0.1	13.7	5.8	0.7	14.8	5.7	1.1	15.0	0.1
2005-06	44.1	0.1	13.7	6.2	0.7	14.3	5.7	1.1	14.1	-

Employment by Major Occupations (%)

Year	Managers	Prof.	Ass. Prof	Clerics	Service	Agri	Craft	Operators	Unskilled
1996-97	8.62	3.50	2.80	2.89	7.77	36.82	9.87	4.82	22.93
1997-98	9.76	3.00	2.95	1.84	6.02	39.91	12.71	3.68	20.13
1999-00	11.00	2.21	4.17	1.56	4.58	40.03	15.05	3.28	18.13
2001-02	11.56	2.08	4.74	1.71	5.67	34.69	16.20	3.92	19.44
2003-04	11.48	1.98	4.88	1.64	5.16	34.92	15.88	3.75	20.32
2005-06	12.01	1.70	5.10	1.40	5.40	35.30	15.80	4.10	19.30

Employment Status by Region (%)

Year	Employer			Self-employed			Unpaid family Helper			Employees		
	Pakistan	Urban	Rural	Pakistan	Urban	Rural	Pakistan	Urban	Rural	Pakistan	Urban	Rural
1996-97	1.1	2.6	0.4	42.2	33.1	46.1	20.3	9.3	25.1	36.4	55.0	28.4
1997-98	0.9	2.3	0.3	41.5	33.4	45.0	22.4	9.3	28.0	35.3	55.1	26.7
1999-00	0.8	2.3	0.2	42.2	33.9	45.6	21.4	10.0	26.1	35.6	53.9	28.1
2001-02	0.8	1.9	0.3	38.5	30.5	42.2	20.8	9.7	25.9	39.9	57.9	31.6
2003-04	0.9	2.3	0.2	37.1	31.6	39.6	24.1	10.8	30.3	37.9	55.3	29.9
2005-06	0.9	2.1	0.36	34.9	31.3	36.6	27.0	11.2	33.9	37.3	55.4	29.2

Informal Sector Employment by Region and Gender (%)

Years	Pakistan			Urban			Rural		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1997-1998	67.8	68.1	64.5	63.3	64.0	53.1	73.1	73.0	74.7
1999-2000	65.8	65.8	65.7	63.8	64.1	60.7	68.0	67.6	73.1
2001-2002	64.6	64.7	63.0	61.1	61.1	60.7	68.3	68.5	65.7
2003-2004	70.0	70.4	65.7	67.2	67.8	61.6	72.9	73.3	69.9
2005-2006	72.9	74.2	65.2	71.0	71.2	69.1	74.8	74.3	79.4

Average Monthly Income of Employees by Region and Gender (%)

Income Group	Pakistan			Urban			Rural		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
< 1500	14.4	9.5	46.2	10.8	7.5	34.0	17.5	11.2	55.2
1501-2500	17.6	17.0	21.5	13.7	13.0	18.5	20.9	20.5	23.8
2501-3900	21.7	23.8	8.3	19.9	21.4	9.8	23.3	26.0	7.1
4000 and above	46.3	49.7	24.0	55.6	58.1	37.7	38.3	42.3	13.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Labor Force Survey, 2005-06

Hours of Work by Region and Gender (%)

Hours	Pakistan			Urban			Rural		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1-10	0.7	0.4	1.9	0.4	0.2	2.1	0.8	0.5	1.8
11-20	3.6	1.8	11.1	1.6	0.7	8.7	4.5	2.4	11.6
21-30	7.9	4.1	23.7	3.8	2.1	17.6	9.7	5.2	25.1
31-34	3.1	2.4	6.0	2.0	1.4	6.7	3.6	3.0	5.8
35-48	42.3	41.6	45.5	43.1	42.1	50.3	42.0	41.3	44.5
48+	42.3	49.6	11.8	49.1	53.5	14.6	39.3	47.6	11.2

Source: Labor Force Survey 2005-06

Women in Decision Making

Pakistan's GEM ranking	Seats in Parliament Held by Women	Female Legislators, Senior Officials and managers	Female professional and technical workers	Ratio of estimated Female or Male Earned Income
82	20.4	2	20.6	0.29

Laws for women (the latest ones only)

- Ordinance to free women prisoners
- Passage of Women Protection Act

Ratification and signature of international law for women

CEDAW	1999
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Governmental organization of Gender

The Commission on Marriages and Family Laws	1955-56
Women's Rights Committee	1976
Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women	1985
Commission of Inquiry for Women	1997
Ministry Of Women Development	1997
National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW)	2000

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1.2. Health Profile

Health Profile

Category	Year	Ratio/Rates
Contraceptive Prevalence Rate	2006	24.0
	1996-97	24.0
Maternal Mortality Ratio (per 100.000 live births)	2002	350
	1995	340
Percentage of Women having Anaemia during pregnancy	2001-02	36.9
	1985	42
Neonatal Mortality Rate (number of deaths in infants under 1 month of age during a year per 1,000 live births)	2003	43.1
	1998	55.0
Infant Mortality Rate(number of deaths in children under 1 year of age during a year per 1,000 live births)	2006	74.6
	1998	89.0
Under 5 Mortality Rate (per 1,000 live births)	2006	107.4
	1999	118.4

Category	1999	2006
Number of Hospitals	879	924
Number of Dispensaries	4583	4712
Number of Maternal and Child Health Centers	855	906
Number of Rural Health Centers	530	560
Number of Total Beds	92174	102073
Population per bed	1448	1508
Number of registered Doctors	88082	122798
Number of registered Dentists	3857	7388
Number of registered Nurses	35979	57646
Number of registered Midwives	22401	24692
Population per Doctor	1515	1254
Population per Dentist	34607	20839
Population per Nurse	3710	2671

Trends in contraceptive use in Pakistan (percentage of currently married women using any method)

Year	Percentage of women
1996-97	24
1998-99	17
2000-01	28
2001-02	19
2003	32
2005-06	26
2006-07	30

HIV and AIDS prevalence among pregnant women ages 15-24 years

Years	Pregnant women with HIV and AIDS (%)
2001-02	0.03
2004-05	0.30
MTDF 2010 target: 0.07 MDG 2015 target: 0.05	

References

- 1) Economic Survey of Pakistan 2007-08
- 2) Human Development Report, UNDP, 2007
- 3) Government of Pakistan Millinium Development Goals Report 2005.
- 4) Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey 2006-07/ Preliminary Report
- 5) Government of Pakistan Population Projections, Summary indicators, 1998-2023.
- 6) Status of Women, Reproductive Health and Family Planning Survey, 2007.

1.3 Education Profile

Education Budget

Public expenditure on education (2005-06) Rs in million	170,708.77
% of GNP (2006-07)	2.42%
% of GDP (1999-00)	1.72%

Literacy Rate

Literacy rate-population 10 years and older (2006-07)	55%
Male	67%
Female	42%
Adult literacy rate- population 15 years and older (2006-07)	52%
Male	65%
Female	38%

Enrolment Rate (GER)

Primary education (2006-07)	Enrolment Rate (88%)	GER (Highest)	GER (lowest)
Male	95%	Punjab: 98%	Balochistan: 65%
Female	79%		
Middle education (2006-07)	Enrolment Rate (51%)	GER (Highest)	GER (lowest)
Male	57%	Punjab: 55%	Balochistan: 34%
Female	44%		
Secondary Education (2006-07)	Enrolment Rate (48%)	GER (Highest)	GER (lowest)
Male	57%	Punjab: 51%	Balochistan: 33%
Female	44%		
Ratios- all over Pakistan (2005-06)	Students per teacher	Teachers per School	Students per School
Mosque	234	8	312
Primary	36	3	96
Middle	26	8	198
Secondary	29	18	506
Higher Secondary	30	29	861

Number of Institutes

Total number of institutes (2005-06)	Male	Female	Mix
Denni Madaris	4,178	1,929	6,046
Primary	62,479	44,632	18,354
Middle	7,226	7,078	638
Secondary	5,997	2,834	279
Higher Secondary	491	347	36
Degree colleges	320	355	78
Technical & Vocational	685	1,475	899

References

- 1) Economic Survey of Pakistan 2007-08
- 2) Pakistan Education Statistics 2005-06
- 3) Government of Pakistan Millinium Development Goals Report 2005.
- 4) National Education Census 2005
- 5) Pakistan Social and Linving Standards Measurement Survey (2006-07)

2. General Situation of Women and Government Policy on Gender

General Situation of Women and Government Policy on Gender

2.1. General Situation of Women in Pakistan

The constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan gives equal rights to both women and men. However, in practice women are rarely equal to their male counterparts. According to the Human Development Report 2007/2008 the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) rank of Pakistan among 93 countries registered with UN is 82. The GEM quantitatively measures the empowerment of women on a country basis. This indicator includes the measure of inequality in control over earned economic resources, participation in political decision-making and economic decision-making.

Supporting the GEM is the low Gender Related Development Index (GRDI) rank of Pakistan among the UN registered countries. It would not be out of place to mention that GRDI reflecting gender inequality is the counter indicator of the Human Development Index (HDI) which is equivalent to life expectancy, educational status and income of a country. As per the latest Human Development rankings, 2007/2008, Pakistan, with the HDI ranking of 136 out of a total of 177 countries, comes under the band of Medium Human Development countries.

According to the Global Gender Gap (GGG) report, the planet's ten-worst offenders are: Yemen, Chad, Pakistan, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Benin, Morocco, Turkey, Egypt and Oman. Of the ten, nine are Muslim-majority states. At the other end of the spectrum, the planet's best countries for women to live in are: Sweden, Norway, Finland, Ireland, New Zealand, Philippines, Germany, Denmark, Ireland and Spain. Not even one of the top-ten is a Muslim-majority state.

GGG collected data from a total of 128 countries to develop a comprehensive, scientific index. The GGG Index is based on four different sub-indices -- namely, economic participation, educational attainment, political empowerment and health -- while each of the sub-indices has half a dozen components.

Under economic participation, five of the worst-offenders are: Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Oman and Bahrain. Under educational attainment, the worst-offenders are: Chad, Yemen, Benin and Pakistan. The best: Denmark, United Kingdom, Australia, France and Belgium. Under political empowerment the worst are: Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Kuwait, Qatar, Egypt and Iran. The best: Sweden, Finland, Norway, Iceland and Spain.

For women, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan comes out as one the worst of countries to live in; there are only two other countries worse off than is Pakistan -- Yemen and Chad. Under economic participation, Pakistan is ranked 126 out of 128. Educational attainment, 123 out of 128. Health, 121 out of 128. Political empowerment, 43 out of 128. Surprisingly, Pakistani women are worse off this year than they were last year (http://www.thenews.com.pk/daily_detail.asp?id=107809).

Contrary to commonly held belief, the Holy Quran is particularly solicitous about women's wellbeing and development. However, women have been the targets of the most serious human rights violation in Muslim societies. The contradiction that exists between women related practices and Islamic ideals is problematic (Perveen: 1999).

Before presenting a detailed analysis of the status of gender related issues in Pakistan, it is important to list down the structural changes that have reformulated and re-engineered the development landscape of Pakistan and hence the lives of women and men over the last decade.

Broad categorizations

Systemic shocks	War on Terror
	Intensified militancy and terrorism
	Military offensives against civilian population
	Earthquake 2005
State institutions/ Political changes	Military coup
	Local Governance system and decentralization initiative
	Elections 2002
	Electoral rise of religio-political parties
	Role of judiciary
	Lawyer's Movement
	Elections 2008
	Women important feature of 'Moderate Enlightenment' vision
	Restructuring of discriminatory laws

Policy changes	Women's quota in Local Body Elections
	Women's reserved seats in Parliament
	Gender Reforms Action Plan (GRAP)
	Elevation of women to key positions in public profile
	Normalization of ties with India
	State policy u-turn on support for jihad in Kashmir & Afghanistan and ban on militant groups
Economic changes	Rising inequalities
	Improvement of gross economic growth indicators
	Declining safety nets and social protection

	Accelerated privatization of public utilities
Demographic changes	Significant rural to urban migration
	Feminization of poverty
	Growing middle class
Social shifts	Media liberalization and TV deregulation
	Reincarnation of customary forms of violence
	Increase in vibrancy of civil society groups
	Simultaneous increase in social conservatism and social liberalism and modernism
	Increased antagonism against 'West' associations

2.2 Political Context/ Legal Context

2.2.1 The War on Terror, militancy and military offensives

The War on Terror and Pakistan's placement once again as a frontline state, has had an enormous impact. It has introduced the spectre of suicide bombings in the country and led to an unprecedented intensity of terrorist attacks, allegedly to protest the Government of Pakistan's role as a collaborator of the Allied Forces. It resulted in the fragmenting and mimicking of Islamist militias, jihadi organizations now proliferate the country without having the earlier, integrated hierarchies.

It rejuvenated political Islamist parties, helped them form an alliance (MMA) and allowed them to form provincial government in two provinces for the first time in the country. In subsequent elections, the MMA has been voted out, but its five years in power have left strong footprints on the social fabric. It has led the State of Pakistan to militarily intervene and conduct army operations against its citizens, who ally themselves with the militias.

It has strengthened the sense of alienation in many geographical pockets, which perceive the State's military interventions to be further proof of its oppressive nature. All these spin-offs have been largely attributed to the American presence in the region, specifically its military attacks in Afghanistan and directly or technically abetting such assaults in Pakistani territory, giving fillip to antagonism against the US and other forces perceived as 'western' by default. On the other hand, it has also provided opportunities for positively changing ground realities, as conflict invariably does. It has compelled the State to directly deal with and extend its writ to regions autonomous since the formation of the country.

In the pursuit for foreign militants, it has thrown open the debate on citizens, citizenry and State rights and responsibilities. It has brought the status of women into the spotlight as the Allied Forces insisted that Afghan women's treatment at the hands of the Taliban provided partial moral justification for the

attacks. It also forced the State of Pakistan to re-strategize its support of fundamentalist forces and posit 'Enlightened Moderation' and a 'soft' image that protects women's rights.

2.2.2 Lawyer's Movement: March 2007 onwards

The former President of the country, Pervaiz Musharraf, who was also the Chief of Army Staff, declared a national emergency within the context of a Supreme Court case deliberations on the legality of the President's occupation of both positions. The Chief Justice who headed the Supreme Court was dismissed, as was the entire Supreme Court and High court benches, and their reinstatement was made contingent upon swearing a new oath that would legitimize the declaration of the emergency. The Chief Justice along with many other judges refused to accept this and the lawyers started a street protest movement for reinstatement of judges and criminalizing the emergency process. For over a year, the lawyers congregated across the country, boycotted courts, fighting for supremacy of the law, and the movement and its demands filled news content across newspapers and television channels countrywide. For the first time, a profession-based interest group has made a deep political impact on Pakistani politics.

Two consequences of this movement are worth noting for the purpose of this assessment. For one, civil society organizations joined in these protests in mass number, and most citizens sided with the resisting judiciary in outrage over the arbitrary dismissals. People who generally stayed neutral and did not engage in political discourse or movements, joined rallies for the first time, and a new chapter in civil and political engagement seems to have started.

Next, that the Constitution, its stipulations that protect citizens and the role of the judiciary has occupied center stage of political discourse, often to the exclusion of all else. Supremacy of Constitution and rule of law has specific connotations for women in Pakistan. The Constitution upholds the equality and pledges protection of women in Pakistan. Their legal status has been compromised by other, lesser status laws and parallel legal/ judicial systems that have offset constitutional provisions. The fact that most aspects of women's lives have been legislated on; age of marriage; consent to marriage; rights to divorce; marriage dissolution; entitlement to alimony and child support; child custody; what they can wear; sexual and bodily autonomy; what work they are allowed to do; conditions governing their labor; women's political representation and participation; violence they may suffer; mobility; access; competence of providing testimony and evidence; whether male relations can be prosecuted for their murder, and so on, makes it critical for sacredness of constitution and pro-women role of judiciary to gain prominence.

2.2.3 State and government-led initiatives

Much of the State's positioning vis-à-vis women was changed single handedly by the General. The strength of the women's movement and people's actions for democratic pluralism gave impetus, but

asymmetric power imbalance and deeply anti-women processes were affected to an extent by the General's progressive outlook.

In 2002, he was confronted by a high profile case where a woman had been sentenced to death for adultery, whereas she was the one who had come forward and filed rape charges. The infamous Hudood Ordinance saw her pre-rape pregnancy as proof of illicit sexual relations, as the man in question had countered. The Federal Shariat Court over-ruled the death sentence, but before that, General Musharraf had publicly asserted that she would not be stoned to death 'no matter what'. This was the well-known Zafran bibi case. Though she was set free, her rapists were not prosecuted.

In July 2006, Musharraf signed an ordinance to free all women prisoners in prisons across the country, except for those charged for murder or terrorism, and the Musharraf regime proposed and consequently passed a bill that led to the Women's Protection Act 2006 that offers women safeguards against false accusations of adultery. The Act was probably one of the first such laws in which parliamentarians voted across party lines and on the issue itself.

2.2.4 Women's Reserved Seats

In 1999, at the Federal and provincial legislatures women's representation was such that; women made up 3% of the National Assembly (7 out of 217); 2.3% in the Senate (2 out of 87); and 0.4% overall in the four provincial assemblies (2 out of 483).

In 2004 ANP & JUI added women's wings, now every mainstream political party has them.

Though women received the right to vote and to stand for elections in 1935 in united India and continued in Pakistan's formation in 1947, the first woman to be elected was in 1973.

The reserved seats available to women was reduced from 40049 in 2001 to 28582 in 2005 (Aurat: 2005) but progress is evident as 96.97% of seats for women were filled at the union council level, whereas in 2001, 89% of seats were filled. The contestability on seats also increased, as did the number of women contesting for the district nazim and naib nazim position. A 100% increase is observed with regard to women's elections as Nazims and Naib Nazims from 16 in 2001 to a total of 32 after the 2005 elections. It is also significant that this single measure of reservation of women's seats has raised Pakistan's ranking on the Gender Empowerment Measurement (GEM) from 100th out of 102 countries in 1999, to 58th in 2003 .

There is ethnographic data to show the difference these women are making for their women constituents. This policy intervention has the potential to bring about a significant cultural transformation, as it has already changed the 'parameters of citizenship' (Bari 2006). Various

development organisations¹ detail instances of women councilors being deprived of development funds, yet initiating change in unique ways that circumvent budgetary limitations.

Primary data analysis, conducted for this study, shows women's political participation as a driver of change in Pakistan, noting that the experience of interventions to promote women's voice suggests that once women are elected to positions of power, they can help open up space to address broader issues of women's right. Rai and Shah (2007) in their study of women's political representation evaluated quotas and in the final analysis suggest that quotas need to be embedded in a democratic culture and a socio-economic context where women's work is valued, both in the public and private sphere. They emphasize that gender mainstreaming needs to be transformative, not just integrationist.

2.2.5 Role of judiciary

The 'ousted' judiciary played a role in bringing violence against women into voluntary judicial purview and into official limelight. Chief Justice of Supreme Court Iftikhar Ahmed took suo moto notice of extreme forms of violence against women as perpetuated by particular communities in question. For instance, the gang rape survivor, Mukhtara Mai, for whom gang rape as punishment for her brother's crime was a decree issued by a community court (jirga). Even while Mukhtara was unsure about prosecution, the court intervened to arrest and prosecutes the rapists.

The same Chief Justice separately summoned to court a then-present Member of Parliament for participating in a jirga that decreed the exchange of minor-aged girls to a tribe in exchange for forgiving crimes committed by the girls' family. Bartering women for conflict resolution is an old tribal tradition called *vanni* or *swara*, and since the Parliamentarian violated the legal system by participating in the unlawful act, he was summoned before court. In yet another rape case, that of Naseema Ubaro, the same court directed the police to provide full security to Naseema and her family, allow for relocation and to prevent the family from entering into out of court settlement, insisting on criminal prosecution. Human rights activists in Pakistan have long been advocating that violence against women should be a crime against the state, and not against the person as it currently is. This allows aggrieved persons to withdraw charges or not to file charges at all. All these are 'firsts' and could have started a trend of pro-women judicial actions, had the judicial bench not been dismissed itself.

2.3 Social Context

2.3.1 Television and Media Liberalization (2002 onwards)

To assert the military regime's credentials as a catalyst for democracy, the State freed airwaves from government control. It liberalized the licensing structure for television, setting the scene for critical

1 Pattan and Social Policy Development Institute (SPDC)

political programs and scathing social critiques, allowing media an unprecedented degree of freedom from state ownership. Currently, there are over fifty channels as opposed to the prior two.

Most television channels have women-specific programming and even during prime time hours, produce and show dramas and serial soaps that highlight the suffering of women and / or suggest avenues of redress, thereby communicating options open to women. Though there are a few channels and programs that stereo-type and typecast women, showing them in a negative light as perpetual victims or shrewd manipulators or as show pieces, the general direction has been that of awareness raising on women's issues.

Though the political and social content of programs has demystified political and social structures, most channels are available only on cable, and cable television has a limited reach, as compared to terrestrial ones, which remain state owned.

Radio airwaves have also been liberalized, and though there are severe restrictions on political programming, radio stations have been covering social issues regularly. They have been used extensively by NGOs and government ministries to promote awareness on specific social concerns such as importance of education, sanitation, clean drinking water, intra-family discrimination and importance of immunization programs, among others. However, the efficacy of these radio programs is being seriously affected by the upsurge of illegal FMs, especially in the NWFP. These radio channels are being frequently used by the fundamentalists to brainwash women against 'western' notions of family planning and urge them to be submissive to their men as 'true Muslim' women should be.

2.3.2 Rural/Urban Population Ratio

Pakistan has self-identified as an agricultural country and a majority of its population has been in the rural areas, and its livelihood connected to agriculture and extension industries. Owing to trends such as mechanization and consequent redundancy of manual labor; acute water shortfall that is making farming unviable in many geographical areas; increasing costs of agricultural inputs; and natural calamities such as droughts, floods, and disease has prompted migration to urban areas and encroaching citification of peripheral areas.

This has caused enormous stress to limited city infrastructures, led to rising unemployment, resulted in loss to women's sense of familiarity and security, further curtailed their mobility as cities are not in their comfort zone, and additionally, reduced their access to institutions as there is often a language barrier that accompanies relocation.

Alternately, this has led to an increased visibility of cultural criminal practices such as honor killing, the incidence of which is overwhelmingly rural-centric. It has also exposed women to alternate

lifestyles and has increased their proximity to state institutions that are largely absent in many rural areas. Continued labor migration has also increasingly left women in charge of their households that impacts their autonomy, though there are no studies gauging the impact of returning male heads of households.

2.3.3 Earthquake 2005

The earthquake that hit NWFP and Pakistan administered Kashmir was the severest ever experienced in the country. According to Government of Pakistan figures, as of November 3, 2006, approximately 70,000 of the population were severely injured or disabled. 58,897 people suffered minor injuries and over 2.8 million persons were left shelter less. The death toll was estimated as 73,000 (UNDP, 2006:1). Yet in its fallout, two significant scenarios emerged.

Firstly, there was a quick realization among many organizations and institutions that reconstruction and rehabilitation offered an opportunity for creating a new social order instead of replacing the previously existing one. The earthquake zone overlapped with the ‘jihadi belt’ in the country and was additionally an area of what Deniz Kandiyoti (1998) called ‘deep, classical patriarchy’. So the focus on and label category of women-headed households, immediate establishment of girl’s schools, marking women as direct recipients of aid and providing women direct access to state and private institutions and structures would lead to enhanced opportunities in the future.

Next, the overwhelming response and immediate support provided by citizens across the country galvanized civil society. There were countless volunteers who traveled to the earthquake belt to assist in rescue and rehabilitation, countless donation points were set up where people donated generously, and many fund raising activities were arranged. In the context of largely insular clan groupings and inwards looking tribal association in rural areas and atomized perspectives of the urban, where collective association and working were barely minimum, the response of citizens worked to bring the people of the country together.

2.4 Role of Women in Gender and Development

According to the data collected for this study, there is evidence that the development sector is deepening its analysis and is shifting from a process of addressing surface level issues to grappling with the deeper, root causes of poverty, marginalization and low status of and violence against women.

Critical in this evolution has been a three tiered analytic framework; one that reflects a nuanced understanding of the distinction between practical and strategic needs, secondly, the appreciation of intersectionality, and thirdly, the shift from a ‘women only’ focus to that of brining in men and social relationships into the ambit of development.

For example, to stop violence against women, it is not sufficient to create awareness about women rights among women but it is necessary that men join with women to encourage norms of consent, respect and gender equality to challenge the unfair power relations which promote violence, and promote gender roles based on non-violence and gender justice.

National White Ribbon Campaign Pakistan is the men's movement for ending violence against children, girls & women. For this to be achieved, men must become part of the solution by taking greater responsibility. Not just in altering their own behaviour, but also as role models for younger generation.

The aim of such efforts is to sensitize men that masculinity can be used in a healthy and positive direction instead of violence and sexual assaults and improved relationships can be flourished based on respect for the opposite gender.

2.4.1 Intersectionality

There is now growing recognition that not only is 'women' a diverse category but that women's experience of exploitation and discrimination is varied across groupings, and that they experience different levels and natures of suppression. Intersectionality grapples with relationships between identities, and may be defined as a theory to analyze how social, cultural and political hierarchies intertwine, examining the production of power and processes between gender, class, ethnicity etc.

For instance, women who have independent income and earnings carry more decision-making power than those who do not earn monetarily, and those who earn by working from home for pay seem to be worse off than those who work outside the home for pay.

Older women (generally those past child bearing age) experience more relaxations on social control and enjoy more respect and a higher status in the family and community, than young women. Yet younger women generally have a higher ratio of education than the older women.

Zubia Mumtaz and Sarah Salway (2005) in their study on contraceptive access in Pakistan find that poor women's higher unaccompanied mobility is associated with loss of prestige and susceptibility to sexual violence whereas among richer women, such movement does not constitute a legitimate target for male exploitation, nor did it lead to a loss of status on part of their families.

Married women are comparatively regarded more important than single women, and married women with sons are more privileged than married women without children or those with daughters. Fafschamps and Quisumbing (2003) find through data from rural Pakistan that households operate as hierarchies with sexually segregated spheres of activity, where the head of household and spouse provide most of the labor within their respective spheres of influence; other members work less. Signaling further stratification, they note "When present in the household, daughters-in-law work

systematically harder than daughters of comparable age and education” and go on to note that within the household, “The better educated individuals enjoy more leisure.”

Women who live in their ‘own’ areas have more mobility, access and power than women who get dislocated through displacement or migration, because their traditional roles and their importance is diminished in a changed, alien context. These examples illustrate that age, class, ethnicity, caste, marital status, earning position, education, location, language and other such factors combine to make varied equations of discrimination, and that for effective interventions, it is critical to deconstruct ‘women’ as a category of ‘beneficiaries’.

2.4.2 Paradigmatic Shifts

The evolving analytical lenses combined with years of development experiments and experiences in the ‘field’, have led organizations and institutions to reflect and focus on structural fault lines as the most relevant focus of development.

At one level, ‘lessons learnt’ have highlighted practical considerations. Examples of this are, for instance, International Fund for Agricultural Development’s (IFAD) conclusion that visibility of projects, while generally an asset, can also threaten success, and instead of having special women’s centers, women may be better off holding activities at each others houses. Or where they find that it is at times necessary to work with men and community leaders and gain their trust and cooperation and get credibility before work with women can commence. CIDA (2006) finds that providing parallel support to both government and non-governmental organizations to build capacity for achieving lasting benefits in a given sector can increase the likelihood of success. Similarly, they state assisting the collaboration between government and non-governmental organizations leads to an environment more receptive to advocacy and more supportive of change, suggesting a balanced programming approach with assistance to both government and civil society.²

Additionally, in engaging the poor in participatory analysis, the Government of Pakistan finds that: the poor want greater access to land and water and protection of natural resource base; poor households are extremely vulnerable and safety nets are weak; the poor need jobs, and not just in urban areas; basic services, especially health care, fail the poor; the poor lack access to political power and justice; and that women are worse off, in all identified areas. In highlighting this gap again, it states “No work has been undertaken on how the poor themselves, particularly women, experience poverty and what their priorities are for improved policies and programs.”

2 CIDA Pk program evaluation, Executive report October 2006. Performance and Knowledge Management Branch, CIDA, Quebec

Many international organizations as well as the government seems to be heeding the main lesson learnt out of the failure of the SAP (Social Action Program), among the largest sectoral poverty reduction initiatives. After a ten year run, the SAP was closed in 2002, with most of its bench marks unrealized. In hindsight, most involved stakeholders attributed this to low levels of participation and ownership by communities, primarily because of the bureaucracy's hesitation at bringing common people on board at the planning and development stage (Siraj, 2004), and because the donor institutions were more occupied with financing and planning than monitoring, implementing and evaluating. Post-SAP, the focus on people's participation, and review and reflect processes has sharpened.

The Aga Khan Rural Support Program (AKRSP) questions conventional wisdom: "What comes first? There is an assumption that social development follows economic development. However, for many development practitioners, it is not clear how this process actually works... AKRSP is struggling with important development conundrums: the relationship between economic and social development."³ As early as 2001, the World Bank was grappling with such notions, highlighting Pakistan's trends as those of 'growth without development'. "While foreign aid and government programs may have contributed to overall economic growth, they were an egregious failure at promoting social and institutional development under the circumstances of elite domination..... an elite who does not support human capital investment in the masses." (Easterly, 2001).

The World Bank identifies mobility as a key determinant of women's empowerment – an issue that has received little attention so far. Identifying it as an enormously influential cultural norm, it finds through numerous studies that mobility restrictions directly undermine female access to medical care, education, and opportunities for paid work. It finds the norms of seclusion the 'most important constraint' in their access to services and participation in society and economy.

DFID attempted a nuanced understanding of political structures and systemic barriers in Pakistan, and honed in on social exclusion as the most structurally significant issue. Social exclusion explains, rather than describes poverty.

"Social exclusion is deeply rooted in the social, economic and political experience of Pakistan. Fundamentally, social exclusion refers to the relationship between citizens and the state. Other development concepts such as poverty, vulnerability, deprivation and inequality do not imply causality, whereas a social exclusion framework implies that someone or something is doing the excluding. Social exclusion is thus relational, and is embedded in the formal and informal institutions of a society, deriving from social relations founded on differences in status or power. In Pakistan, some of the main barriers to poverty reduction & social change lie precisely in social and institutional

3 AKRSP evaluation <http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/CIDAWEB/acdicida.nsf/En/REN-218132618-PMW>

relations. Using the concept of social exclusion helps explain why particular groups remain poor, and what needs to be done to address their poverty, through use of an active dynamic rather than the passive, anonymous process of impoverishment and marginalisation” (Hooper and Hamid, 2003).

This was then reflected in the DFID Policy paper, which states “Social exclusion causes the poverty of particular people, leading to higher rates of poverty among affected groups. Social exclusion reduces the productive capacity – and rate of poverty reduction – of a society as a whole” (DFID, 2005).

2.4.3 Factors Influencing Change

General Status of Women

Practical factors impeding change	Practical factors assisting change
Threats of violence for adopting change	Donors and NGOs increase interaction and participation of communities
Customary practices persist in rural areas	TV media liberalization and high outreach
Limited resources, competing priorities	Local Bodies system devised for service delivery
Financial wastage and mal-administration	Budgetary allocation for social spending has become better in the recent past
Low ownership of development agenda	Improvement on and official commitment to social development indicators

Structural Factors inhibiting change	Structural Factors facilitating change
Entrenched power hierarchies, higher rung actors preserve status quo	Mainstream elected parties in power could begin to deepen democratic culture
State failure to deliver on services and entitlements	Official (formal) endorsement of women’s rights by state institutions
Local economies hinged to traditional forms of governance	More active citizenry and civil society is charged and poised for change
Arguments of ‘relativity’ view culture as static and sacred	Value accorded to education, if not education itself, is on the rise
Concepts of rights perceived as ‘western’ are resisted and resented as ‘imposed’	Public opinion against traditions like early pregnancies and rising awareness

What has changed	What is changing	What is not changing and what should be changed
Fertility rates and very early pregnancies	Public profile of women in media, politics and key positions	State/ society trust deficit
Puberty as age of marriage for girls	Attention and condemnation of violence against women	Social protection mechanisms
Public perceptions against early pregnancies	Public discourse on alternative interpretations of religion	Women’s low asset holding and property rights
Women’s representation in parliament	Multiple meanings of veiling, its symbolism and correlation with mobility and ideology	Laws and institutions governing violence against women in the private domain
Local government assures modest level of connection	Political economy of customary forms of violence against	Registration of births, marriages, divorces and deaths

between people and governance structures	women and its public perceptions	
	Inflation and high costs of living reshaping economic opportunities	

2.5. Government Policy on Gender

Government Policy on Gender

In the past years the government has taken many steps forward in the area of female empowerment. These include:

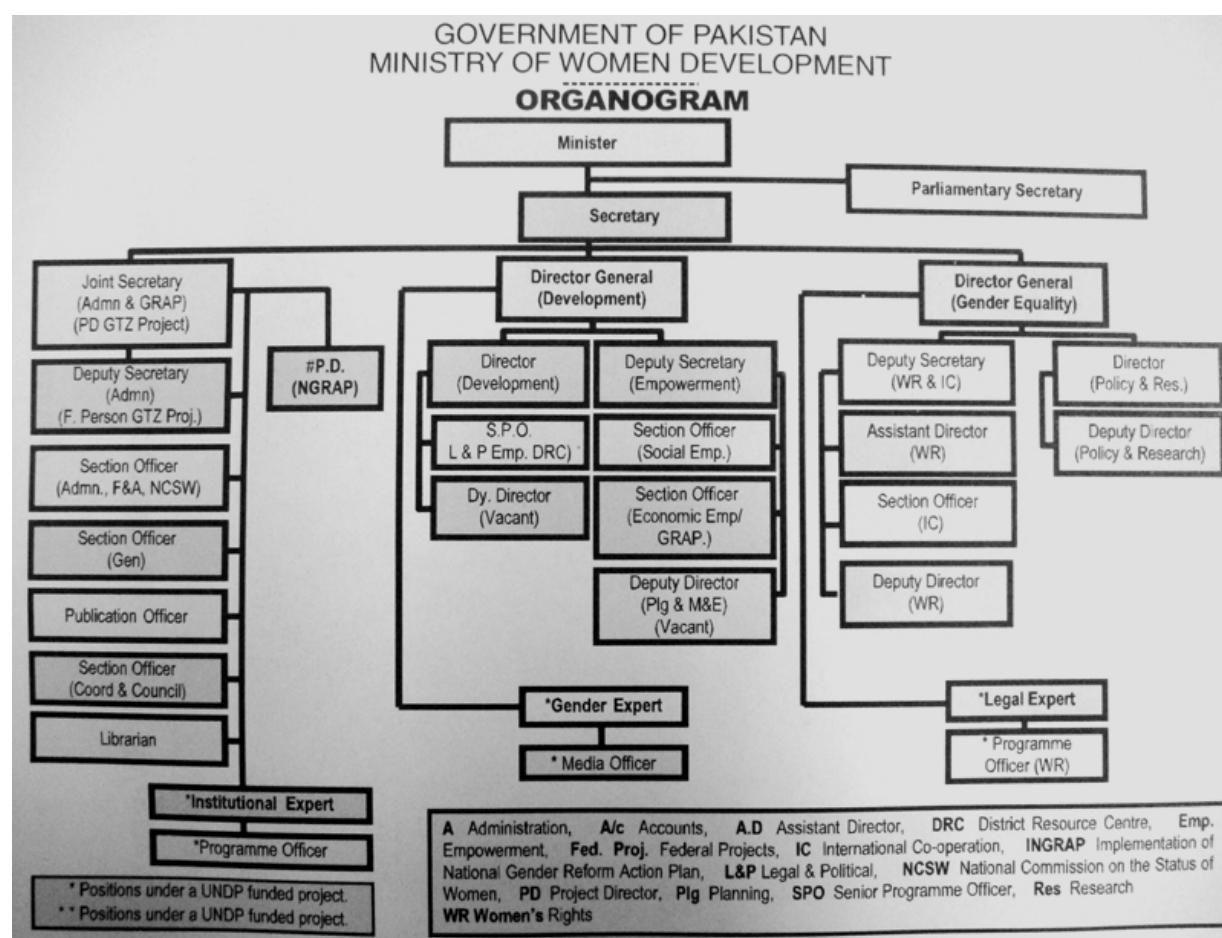
- Ordinance to free women prisoners
- Sensitization of media personnel
- Program to help young traders (opened by Prince Charles)
- Approval of Project Jafakush Aurat (Tharparkar)
- Community Mobilization Project completed in five districts
- Women's political empowerment through capacity building and institutional strengthening
- Establishment of five new women centers
- IT training for elected women councilors in local Government
- Passage of Women Protection Act
- Approval for 10% quota for women across the board
- IT training of elected lady representatives
- Aghaee Moem Draw: Successful completion of Media Campaign
- CEDAW Debriefing session

All these programs and policies of the Government have worked to ensure that status of women is made better in the country. In addition to these programs and policies, a National Policy for the Development and Empowerment has been developed in 2002. It deals with the social empowerment (education, health, law and access to justice, violence against women, women in family and community, and the girl child) by applying poverty alleviation measures, access to credit and remunerated work, recognizing women in the rural and informal sector and through sustainable development. Also, political empowerment is considered important and so is policy implementation through institutional arrangements, coordination and monitoring. (For further details please refer to: National Policy for Development and Empowerment of Women, March 2002, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Women Development).

2.5.1 National Machinery

National Machinery

Organisational Chart



2.5.2 Functions of the Ministry of Women Development (MoWD)

Following are the major functions assigned to the Ministry:

1. Matters relating to formulation of public policies and laws to meet special needs of women, ensuring that women's needs and interests are adequately represented in public policy formulation by various organs and agencies of the government.
2. Registration of and assistance to women organisations.
3. Promotion and undertaking of projects for provision of special facilities for women
4. Promotion and undertaking of research on the conditions and problems of women
5. Pakistan's representation in international organisations dealing with the problems of women and bilateral contacts with other countries.
6. Matters relating to equality of opportunity in education and employment, and full participation of women in all spheres of national life.

The total sanctioned strength of MoWD is 156, out of which 27 are officers and 129 are supporting staff. The Ministry consists of following three wings:

- **Administration and Council/Coordination Wing:** It deals with all administrative, personnel, financial and budgetary matters of MoWD. It also coordinates with the President and Prime Minister's Secretaries as well as Cabinet Division and Establishment Division.
- **Development Wing:** It deals with all matters relating to planning and development, project preparation to ensure inclusion of gender issues in order to bring women in the mainstream development. The Wing also coordinates with Federal Ministries, Provincial Governments, NGOs and Civil Society Organisations to implement recommendations contained in the National Plan of Action for Women Development and CEDAW.
- **Gender Equality Wing:** This wing deals with the women rights issues, promotion and undertaking of research on the conditions and problems of women relating to equality of opportunity in education and employment and fuller participation of women in all spheres of life. It coordinates with national and international bodies like UN and Regional Agencies on Women Issues to arrange seminars, discussions, meetings etc.

3. Current Situation of Women by Sector

Current Situation of Women by Sector

3.1. Education

3.1.1 Summary

- Education in Pakistan has and still suffers from countless issues including low levels of public spending (supply side inadequacies and under investment), poverty, cultural constraints and acute regional and gender inequalities in the budgetary allocations to education.
- Poor implementation of educational policies and dependence on foreign aid and loans to bridge the budget deficit can be held responsible for not acquiring positive results.
- Gender gaps in urban education are almost non-existent but they are wider in rural education since gender disparities exist highly in rural areas.
- The poor condition of public schools in Pakistan has a negative effect on the overall enrolment rates. The worst hit are the females belonging to the rural areas who are deprived of their basic right to education bringing the overall literacy rate down.
- Pakistan is producing more illiterates due to high population growth, low level of school enrolment and high level of dropouts.
- Setting up of Deeni Madaris (Religious schools) is not helping the cause either since they are not providing economically meaningful and modern education due to unqualified teachers.
- There is a lack of co-ordination between donor organisations and GoP for improving the literacy rate.
- Chronic issues like poverty, violence against women, differences in government and private education, class discrimination, non-availability of educational facilities with the pace of increasing population, need for curriculum reforms, poor indigenous research should be dealt with in the future policies with particular emphasis on women literacy.

Most of the literature on the issue of gender disparity in education and low enrolment of girls in schools focuses on three major factors, those being poverty, cultural constraints and supply side inadequacies.

Attributive factors by the GoP are “many of these schools suffer from a lack of infrastructure and facilities to discharge their functions in a meaningful manner. Many do not have compound walls and many lack running water and toilet facilities. All of these factors impact greatly on enrollment, particularly of girls. Teacher training needs to be improved greatly. The budgetary allocation for education must also be increased. Unfortunately this latter issue is tied to overall economic performance of the country and the regional situation. However the education policy and the ESR hold the promise of an improvement in the situation.”

Lloyd et al (2007) draws attention to the recent rapid growth of private schools in rural Pakistan, and Khwaja et al (2007) finds in his data on Pakistan that private schools are three times more likely to emerge in villages with government girl's secondary schools, and that this increases education options and competitive quality and substantially increases local supply of skilled women, who in turn, can teach. However, Moneeza Aslam (2007) finds that even in private schools, girls have substantially and significantly poorer accesses than boys do. "Girls lose out vis-à-vis boys in terms not only of lower within-household educational expenditures but also in terms of the quality of schooling accessed."

The government of Pakistan has tried to balance out the low academic standards by supplementing primary education with vocational training. Shahrukh Rafi Khan (1990) points out the irrelevance of education to markets. "Because of the mismatch between technical vocational education and market demand, sixty three percent of graduates of these institutions do not find employment."

As an educational strategy, Rai and Shah (2007) posit civics as an important subject for addressing issues of gender inequality through curriculum and for setting norms in order to generate support for a greater presence of women in the public sphere in the next generation. This nexus is reaffirmed by Amartya Sen (1990), who notes "The division of a family's joint benefits is less likely to be unfavorable to women if 1) they can earn an income, 2) their work is recognized as productive, 3) they own some economic resources and have some entitlements to fall back on and 4) there is an understanding of the ways in which women are deprived and a recognition of the possibilities of changing this situation. This last category can be influenced by education for women and by their participatory political action."

Education has been widely recognized as the most pivotal determinant of change, by the government of Pakistan and a host of relevant actors. The Pakistan Participatory Poverty Assessment, conducted by GoP finds "Education as the most significant factor that distinguishes the poor from the non poor, with the percentage of literate household heads in non poor houses as fifty two percent as compared to twenty seven percent in poor households."

Lloyd *et. al.* point out the vicious spiral by emphasizing that most traditional attitudes against girls' schooling tend to be held by the least educated families and that this leads to a perpetuation of disadvantage, because the least educated families are also the poorest families and the least inclined to educate girls

3.1.2 History of Education Policies in Pakistan

The constitution of Pakistan has placed the responsibility for basic education on the state. This obligation is reflected in the principles of policy in Article 37, which declares: “The State shall:

- (a) Promote, with special care, the educational and economic interests of backward classes or areas.
- (b) Remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within minimum possible period”.

Various governments have, over the years, formulated a collection of policies and plans to fulfil the constitutional commitment but success has been limited, though with the result that the current state of education in Pakistan is deplorable (SPDC Annual Report, 2002-03)

Table 1

Policy	Targets	Strategies
1947 Pakistan Education Conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Free and Compulsory education UPE within two decades (i.e. 1976) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Levying a special tax to finance primary education Primary school age group between 6-11 years Encourage the private sector to open schools
1959 Commission on National Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> UPE with a period of 15 years (i.e. 1974) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compulsory religious education Female teacher for primary education Resource mobilization for additional funds
1970 The New Education Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> UPE by 1980 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attractive schools to eliminate dropout Rapid expansion of primary schools Emphases on female enrolment Female teachers for primary education
1972 The Education Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> UPE for boys by 1979 UPE for girls by 1984 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Free primary education Priority to rural areas Emphasis on female enrolment Standardized low cost school buildings Revision of curricula and text books Nationalization of schools
1979 National Education Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> UPE for boys by 1986-87 UPE for girls by 1992 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rapid expansion of female education Opening of mosque schools

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opening of Mohallah (community) Schools • Efforts to reduce drop outs • Islamization of Education
1992 National Education Policy 1992	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UPE by 2002 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opening of 107,000 new primary and Mosque schools • Training and recruitment of 265,000 new primary schools teachers • Abolition of difference in the allowances of teachers serving in rural and urban areas • Emphasis on recruitment of female teachers • Compulsory religious education
1998 National Education Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UPE by 2015 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing number of female institutes • 45,000 new primary, 74,000 non-formal basic education centers and 20,000 Mosque schools will be opened • Investment in education from local and foreign sources will be encouraged

Source: Ahsan,M. (2003) ‘ An Analytical Review of Pakistan’s Education Policy Implementation in Paksitan-A Neuro Cognitive Perspective’, *Routledge Tayfor and Frands Gropu*, 18(3), pp. 259-280

Since the birth of Pakistan, in every education policy GoP has set the target to achieve UPE by the end of the policy tenure but yet UPE is not achieved, it is yet only 56% according to PSLM. Pakistan’s educational situation reflects that possibly the purpose of government education system is not to help the children to learn but it is for politicians and bureaucrats to provide jobs for their favourites, transfer teachers on the basis of political affiliation, have political leverage in the villages and give contracts⁴ for building schools.

There is a dire need of making plans to reduce gender gaps⁵ in the National Education Policy (1998-2010). In the ongoing education policy women are the primary beneficiaries. Implementation and results of education policy are visible only in urban areas of Pakistan. GoP declared some schools as co-educational while they continued to retain the nomenclature of girls and boys schools at primary level in some rural areas⁶ of Punjab. In the policies GoP should involve parents, teachers, students and

⁴ Interview from Habib ur Rehman, Ministry of Education on 3rd June 2008.

⁵ Interview from Khalid Hussain, (IRPI) on 29th May 2008.

⁶ Interview from Dr.Fareeha Zafar, (SAHE), Lahore on 10th June 2008.

even community people, not only this there should be Parent Teachers Associations (PTAs) in rural and urban areas in order to improve quality of education and proper implementation⁷ of education policy. Better education opportunities weaken stereotypical attitudes against weaker segments⁸ of the society.

The failure of educational policies in developing countries is largely attributed to the issues of poor implementation. Another unique problem of education policy in developing countries like Pakistan is their dependence on foreign aid and loans to bridge the budget deficit and finance their development plans. Hence a large portion of its budget (about 56% in year 2000- 2001) goes to debt servicing each year. Financial dependence increases the political pressures that the lending agency or banks can exert on Pakistan and there have been instances when the development loans were clearly linked with some reform package, which requires further borrowing. As a result, the country is snared in the debt trap, with a high degree of dependence on lenders. Hence it is highly important to understand how agents perceive policy and act on it, also before acting, agents make sense of policy signals (Ali 2006). Criticisms of educational planning in Pakistan is its orientation

The key issues, which have defined and need guided structural changes in education system and policy, are compulsory schooling, equity of access and equality of educational opportunity and the influence of home background on academic achievement (Joseph 2002). Programs that allow mothers to work outside the home with tranquility and include women educators, who become professionals, receive decent salaries, work in adequate places, and produce good care for children (Rosemberg 2003). Other than mother language curriculum, child can learn other languages in early childhood, but the system of teaching other language should be good (Utne 2002). Development of education system is the need of hour and this can only be possible by using latest technologies of the 21st Century (Maryam 2002).

The involvement of all stakeholders including community people in the National Education Policy formulation is very important. All the financial resource allocation should be shifted to strengthen elementary education sub-sector technologies instead of different programs, e.g, Parah Likha Punjab (Literate Punjab), Tawana (Healthy) Pakistan etc. This will provide far better results⁹.

The education sector in Pakistan has suffered from persistent and severe under investment by the government since the independence of Pakistan¹⁰. This deficiency has affected the quality and availability of education. The national education expenditure as percentage of GDP is shown in Table

⁷ Interview from Hyder Shar, Lead Pakistan on 26th May 2008.

⁸ Interview from Ahmed Mukhtar, Media Person on 27th May 2008.

⁹ Interview from A.D.Makin, IPS on 4th June 2008.

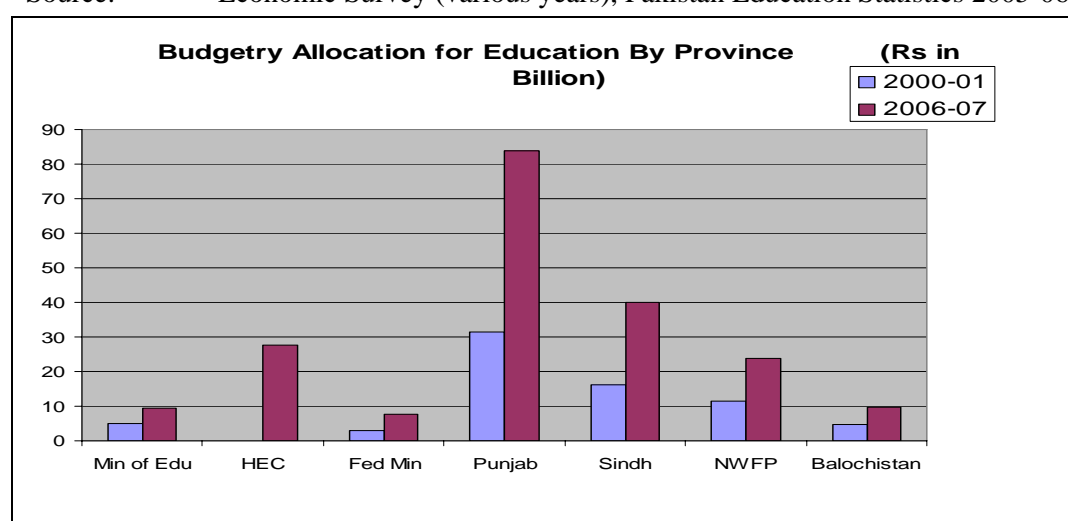
¹⁰ Interview from Habib ur Rehman, Ministry of Education on 3rd June 2008.

2. It is planned to raise the total public allocation for education to 3.6 percent of the GDP by 2010, private sector expenditure is expected to add another 1.5 percent. Budgets for primary education are over 45 percent of total public sector expenditure on education (Economic Survey of Pakistan 2006-07).

Table 2

National education expenditure as percentage of GDP								
	1999-00	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07
% of GDP	1.72%	1.82%	1.79%	1.86%	2.20%	2.13%	1.92%	2.42%

Source: Economic Survey (various years), Pakistan Education Statistics 2005-06



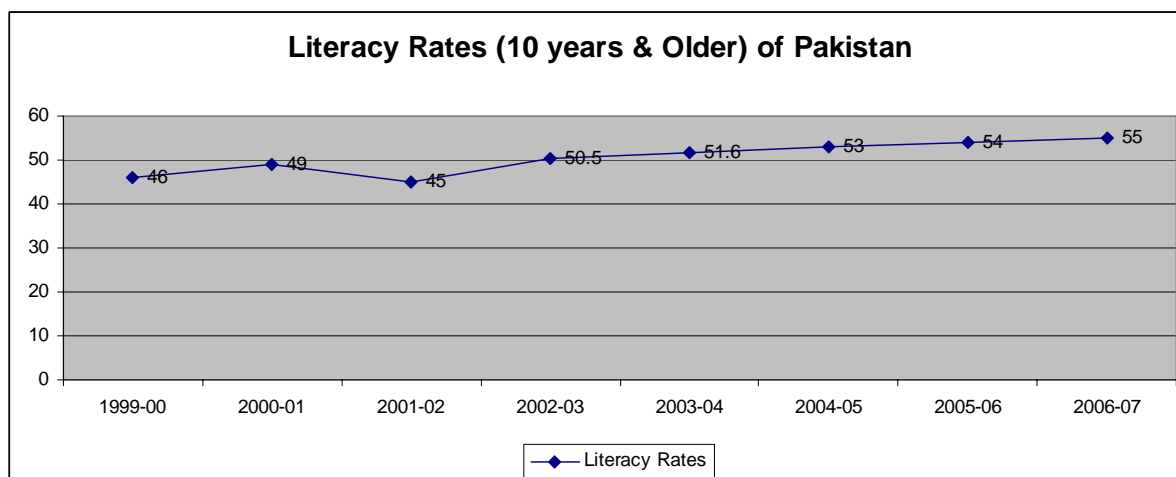
3.1.3 Literacy Situation in Pakistan

Literacy is a learning process, by which a set of technical skills of reading, writing and numeracy are acquired, and once grasped; these skills can be applied in all kinds of contexts for many different forms of print-based learning. Illiteracy breeds a vicious cycle i.e. the illiterate is poor, the poor are powerless and the powerless are illiterate (Shami & Hussain 2006).

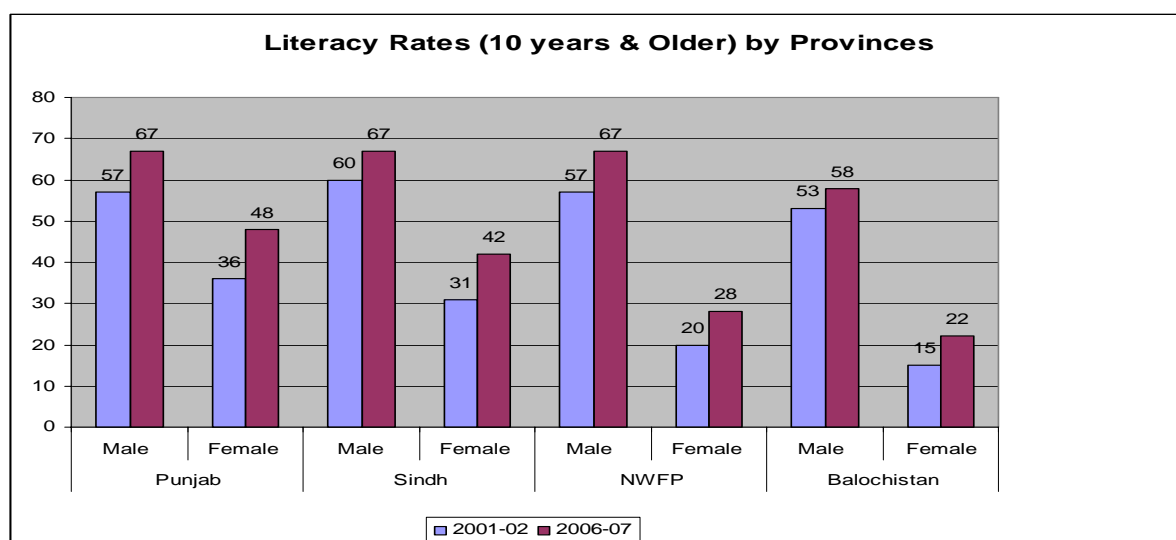
- Literacy is an important indicator of education because its improvement is likely to have an impact, in the long run, on other important indicators of welfare (PSLM 2006-07).
- More financial allocations, focus on key institutions can improve¹¹ literacy situation of Pakistan.
- GOP should carry out massive campaigns through out country to make people aware about their children's' education and its dividends, also there is a need to develop gender sensitive¹² curricula.
- In Pakistan literacy is slowly but steadily increasing over the last few years as shown in the following graph.

¹¹ Interview from Dr.Fareeha Zafar, (SAHE), Lahore on 10th June 2008.

¹² Interview from Habib ur Rehman, Ministry of Education on 3rd June 2008.



Source: Economic Survey of Pakistan (Various years)



Source: Economic Survey of Pakistan (Various years)

The lowest literacy rate at 22% prevails among rural females in Balochistan, while the highest rate at 48 % is among females in Punjab. Like wise, the lowest literacy rate at 58% prevails among males in Balochistan, while the literacy rate for males in other provinces is same i.e. 67%.

Table 3: Literacy Rates (10 years & Older) of Pakistan during 1999-07

Years	Literacy Rates	Male	Female
1999-00	46	59.2	32.2
2000-01	49	62.8	34.8
2001-02	45	58	32
2002-03	NA	NA	NA
2003-04	NA	NA	NA
2004-05	53	65	40
2005-06	54	65	42
2006-07	55	67	42

Sources: Economic
Survey of Pakistan 2006-07
Population Household
integrated Survey 2001-02
Pakistan Social and Living
Standards Measurement
Survey 2006-07

National Education Policy 1998-2010

It is not surprising that majority of Pakistan population is illiterate. In fact the number of illiterate people has increased from 28 million in 1972 to 46 million in 2002 (SPDC Annual Review 2002-03).

3.1.4 Structure of Education System

The structure of the educational system is organized into five levels:

➔ Elementary Education

The elementary education comprises two distinct stages, i.e., Primary and Middle:

1. Primary, (Grades one through five)
2. Middle (Grade six through eight)

➔ Secondary Education

Secondary education comprises of two stages i.e. Secondary and Higher Secondary:

- Secondary (Grade nine and ten, culminating in matriculation;
- Higher Secondary (Grade 11 and 12, leading to FA diploma in Arts and FSc in Science)

➔ Tertiary Education

Tertiary education comprises of undergraduate and postgraduate.

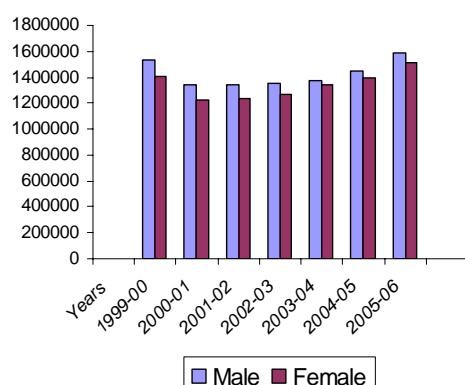
- University programs leading to undergraduate and advanced degrees.

Preparatory classes (*kachi*, or nursery) were formally incorporated into the system in 1988 with the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

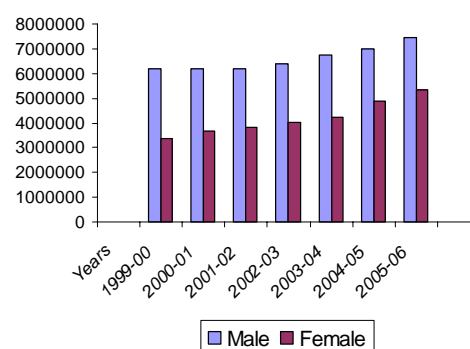
3.1.5 Primary Education

- Net enrolment rate (NER) of primary stage (Age 5-9) excluding Pre-Primary class in 2006-07 was 56%.
- The curriculum for primary classes is almost the same throughout the country in public schools.
- The major focus of this stage is on basic mathematical and literacy skills, appreciation of traditions, values and socialization. Primary education is the foundation on which all subsequent stages of education are built and is the very basic ingredient for human resource development (Shami & Hussain 2006).
- Concern over the state of primary education, particularly the issues of low enrolment rate and high dropout rates has been expressed in all education policies and five year plans. Gender gaps in urban education are almost removed. Whereas, gender gaps in rural primary education are wider than in urban areas as shown in graphs below.

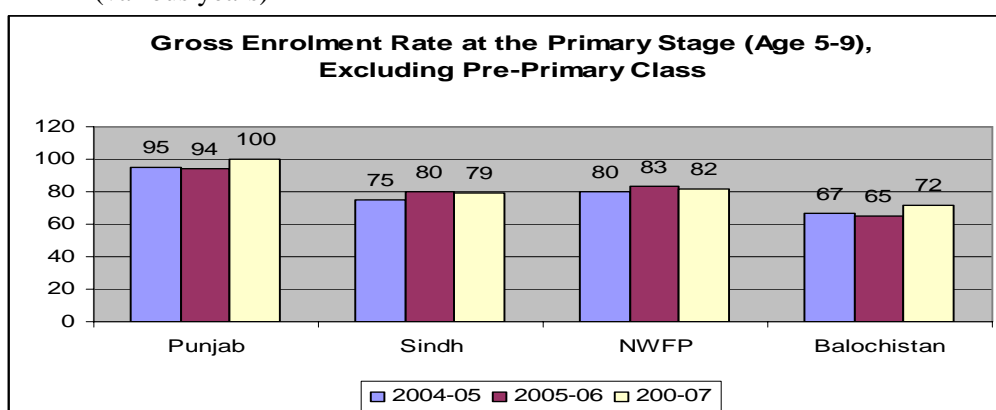
Primary Stage enrolment in Urban by gender



Primary Stage enrolment in Rural by gender



Source: Pakistan Education Statistics (various years), above graphs, Pakistan Education statistics (various years)



Source: Pakistan Education Statistics (various years), above graphs, Pakistan Education statistics

Overall enrolment at primary level is increased but gender gaps in rural areas are consistent. There is a need to increase focus on primary enrolment so that Pakistan can improve its literacy status¹³. GoP and other donor agencies mainly focus and run programs to support¹⁴ primary education by ignoring secondary education which will make it difficult for Pakistan to produce future teachers¹⁵.

Primary stage need to make more stronger in terms of enrolment because it is the stage where drop out rate is higher in Pakistan and it is the stage when children's' ability to learn and pick new things is

¹³ Interview from Hafza Sajjad, KASHF Foundation on 4th June 2008.

¹⁴ Interview from Rahedeen S.Ali, Development in Literacy on 28th May 2008.

¹⁵ Interview from Dr.Fareeha Zafar, Society for the Advancement of Education (SAHE), Lahore on 10th June 2008.

quite high and it is the stage when an interest can be developed in children by making education interesting ¹⁶.

3.1.6 Middle Level Education

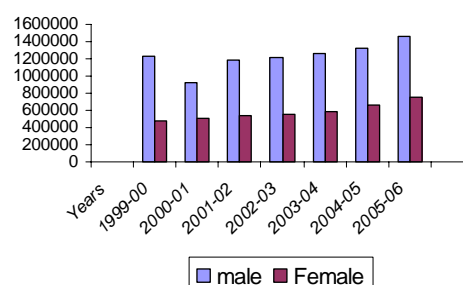
- The Net Enrolment Rate (NER) of the Middle stage (Age 10-12) during 2006-07 is 18%.
- The curriculum focus of middle stage is on strengthening foundations of first and second languages, mathematics and science and developing understanding of family, community, environment, health and nutrition.
- After the middle school students can follow either academic courses in secondary schools or a trade course at vocational institutions (Shmai & Hussain 2006).¹⁷

Middle enrolment in Urban by gender

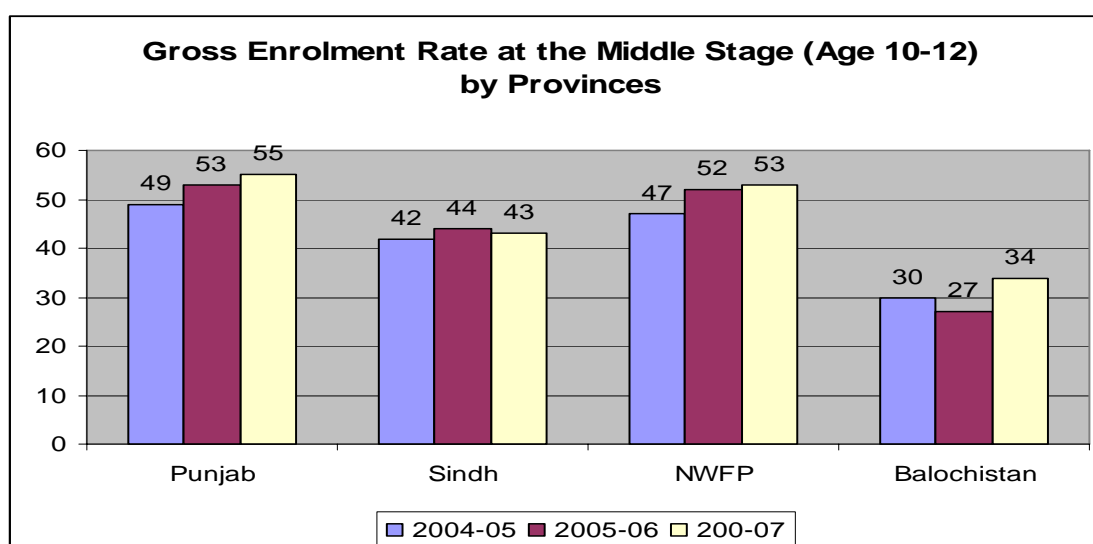


Source: Pakistan Education Statistics (various years)

Middle enrolment in Rural by gender



Source: Pakistan Education Statistics (various years)



¹⁶ Interview from Fareeha Sultan, Pakistan Institute of Labour Education and Research (PILER) on 2nd June 2008.

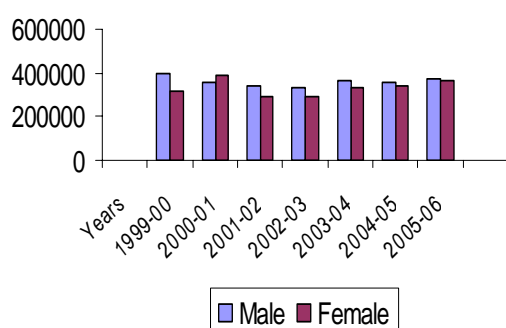
Source: Pakistan Social and Measurements Survey (various years)

The GER for the middle stage, for Pakistan as a whole is 51 % in 2006-07. The GER has increased slightly over the period, and wider gender gaps exist in rural areas as compared to urban areas. The situation of Balochistan is worse as compared to other provinces in terms of middle stage gross enrolment rate.

3.1.7 Secondary Education

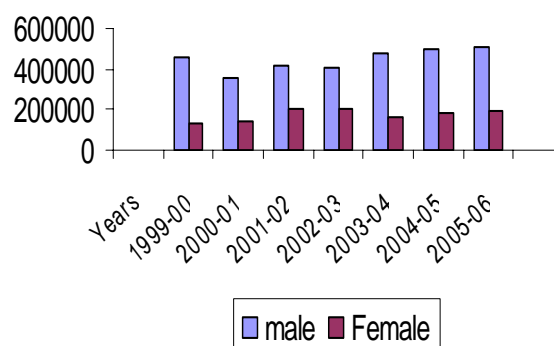
- GER at the secondary stage in 2006-07 is 48%.
- After secondary school stage students can enter higher secondary schools for pre-university courses or can join polytechnics to take up three years diploma course in a particular branch of technology or trade. Secondary education is an important sub-sector of the entire education system. On one hand, it provides middle level workforce for the economy and on the other hand it acts as a feeder for the higher levels of education (Shami & Hussain 2006).
- Secondary education is more important than primary as rate of return from secondary education are more than from primary education, which can help to reduce further poverty of future generation(Idrus & Cameron 2000).

Secondary enrolment in Urban by gender



Source: Pakistan Education Statistics (various years)

Secondary enrolment in Rural by gender



Source: Pakistan Education Statistics (various years)

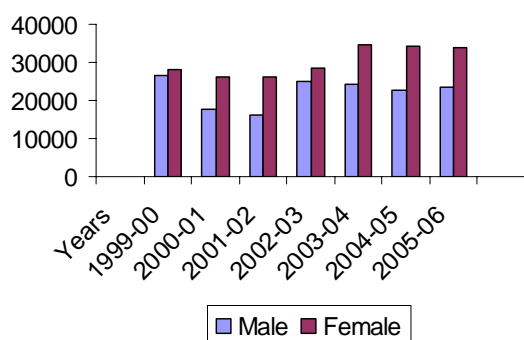
The gender gaps at secondary stage are much wider in rural areas as compared to urban areas. Gender pre-conceived notions are also the reasons behind differences in enrolment in rural areas at secondary stage.

3.1.8 Higher Secondary Education

- The higher secondary school certificate is a pre-requisite for the entrance to university or an institution of higher education.
- The medium of instruction of science subjects is English.

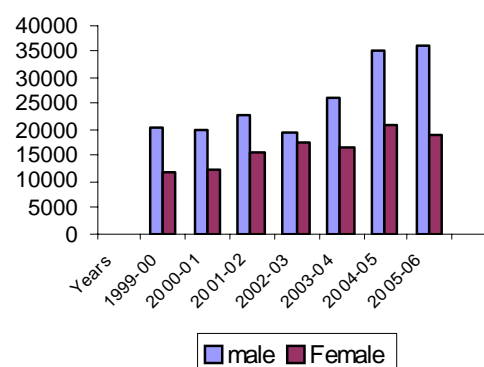
- After higher secondary school certificate (HSSC) one can either join general universities or professional institutes such as agricultural, engineering and medical (Shami & Hussain 2006).

Higher Sec enrolment in Urban by gender



Source: Pakistan Education Statistics (various years)

Higher Sec enrolment in Rural by gender

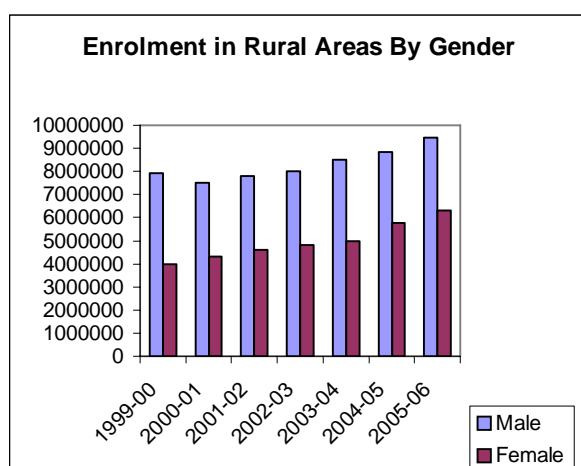


Source: Pakistan Education Statistics (various years)

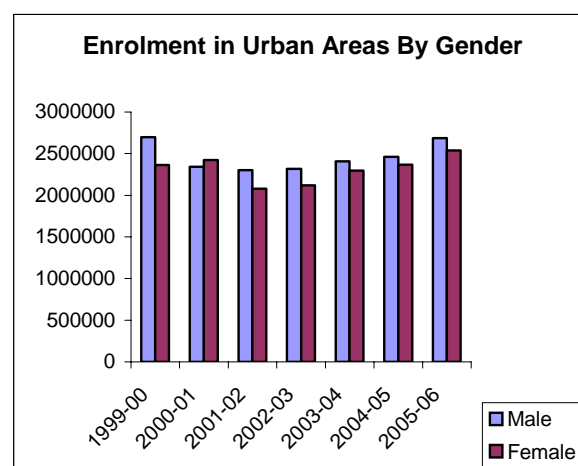
The gender gaps increased in rural areas in the recent years as shown from above graphs. Whereas, in urban areas enrolment of males is much lower than females.

3.1.9 Gender differences in Education

- Gender differentials in school are apparent in all age cohorts, with larger gaps in rural than urban areas.



Source: Pakistan Education Statistics (various years)



Source: Pakistan Education Statistics (various years)

The above graphs show the overall situation of gender difference from the perspective of enrolment by location (rural and urban). Clearly, gender differences are much wider in rural areas of Pakistan as compared to urban areas.

3.1.10 Favoring and Hindering Factors of Enrolment Rates¹⁸

Table 3

Favouring Factors	Hindering Factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incentive bases programmes e.g. free meals (e.g. Tawana Pakistan programme) and books, stipend etc • Awareness • Increased involvement of Private sector • Flexible community schools to cater to needs of working children • Educated parents like to give education to their children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unavailability of schools in vicinity especially middle and high schools for girls • Insecurity for girls to get to school/in school • Corporal Punishment • Poverty put boys out of school • Co-education at primary level • Less number of Government schools especially Middle stage schools and poor quality of education in government schools • Opportunity cost of sending children to schools • Less economic benefits associated with girls' education • Poor infrastructure • Shortage of English, Math and Science teachers • Non-availability of teachers • Cultural Norms • Distance of schools

3.1.11 Technical and Vocational Education

- The duration of vocational and technical education programs ranges from three months to three years. Entry qualifications also vary according to the program.
- Different trades are offered in these institutions. Technical and vocational education is being reorganized through the establishment of provincial and federal technical and vocational authorities (Shami & Hussain 2006).
- Vocational and technical education programmes are often inadequate, irrelevant, and qualitatively poor. Because of poor coaching, students are often badly trained for the job market. Many university degree holders are either unemployed or underemployed. This has made them despondent and shaken their faith in education as a means of improving the standard of living (Kazmi 2005).

¹⁸ Note: Information in table.3 is the analysis of primary data

Table 4

Technical & Vocational Institutes by Level				
	2005-06			
Level	No of institutions			
	Male	Female	Mixed	Total
Monotechnic	121	12	18	151
Polytechnic	27	3	19	49
Vocational	537	1460	862	2859
Total	685	1475	899	3059
	2005-06			
Level	Enrolment			
	Male	Female	Total	
Monotechnic	53060	2703	55763	
Polytechnic	5204	719	5923	
Vocational	90777	86224	177001	
Total	149041	89646	238687	
	2005-06			
Level	Teachers			
	Male	Female	Total	
Monotechnic	2789	205	2994	
Polytechnic	311	26	337	
Vocational	6807	4427	11234	
Total	9907	4658	14565	

Source: Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey (2006-07)

Technical and Vocational Education is an important area that needs more attention in order to make its programs viable and practical¹⁹. There is need to introduce more non-traditional courses in these institutes especially for females²⁰. At present only about 30 % youth can get enrolled in these institutes at a time due to less number of these institutes, however, this ratio should²¹ be increased up to 60% at least. Further more Technical and vocational course certificates holders are in a better position to find jobs as compared²² to secondary certificate holder.

3.1.12 Adult Literacy

Education is one of the key aspects of human development. It qualitatively improves the nature of choices humans make over their lifetime. Thus, adult literacy has been included as one of the key indicators for quantifying human development across countries. However, the lack of monitoring of government schools and adult literacy centers is often mentioned as a cause of poor performance (Shahrukh 2005).

¹⁹ Interview from Dr. Fareeha Zafar, Society for the Advancement of Education (SAHE), Lahore on 10th June 2008.

²⁰ Interview from Aisha Mukhtar, UNIFEM on 26th May 2008.

²¹ Interview from Ahmed Mukhtar, Media Person on 27th May 2008.

²² Interview from Habib ur Rehman, Ministry of Education on 3rd June 2008.

Table.5

Adult Literacy-Population 15 years and older (Percent)									
Region and Province	2004-05			2005-06			2006-07		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Urban Areas:	78	59	69	78	61	70	78	61	70
Punjab	77	62	70	79	63	71	78	65	71
Sindh	80	59	70	79	62	71	79	62	71
NWFP	74	42	58	73	42	57	73	41	58
Balochistan	72	35	55	75	33	55	74	36	57
Rural Areas:	56	24	40	55	26	40	57	26	41
Punjab	56	30	43	55	32	33	58	33	45
Sindh	54	14	36	53	15	35	50	12	33
NWFP	58	18	37	60	24	40	61	18	39
Balochistan	44	9	28	41	10	29	47	10	31
Overall:	63	36	50	64	38	51	65	38	52
Punjab	63	40	52	63	42	52	65	43	54
Sindh	68	38	54	67	40	54	66	39	54
NWFP	61	22	40	62	26	43	63	22	42
Balochistan	49	14	33	52	15	35	54	17	37

Source: Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey 2006-07

Research indicates that the teaching techniques of adult literacy centres are really good and need to be used in classrooms to enhance students learning²³.

Whatever adults learn at adult literacy centers; they try to teach that to their children. In this way these centers are quite useful²⁴. These centers are good for those people who cannot get education²⁵ due to poverty. It will help to make country economically strong²⁶ in the long run. On the other hand, most literacy centers don't guide people about what can they do after getting some basic education from these literacy centers²⁷, also these centers are not much useful due to frequent political changes, society's negative attitudes towards adult and non-formal education. Hence, adult literacy programmes faced extreme failure; and most of the people forget within days what they had learnt. After one generation gap there will be no need to open adult literary centers if at present some how GoP assure 100 % primary NER at primary level. In other words, adult literacy programmes are actually wastage of money, if GoP uses this money for promoting elementary education, yet there is

²³ Interview from Hafsa Sajjad, KASHF on 4th June 2008.

²⁴ Interview from Ahmed Mukhtar, Media Person on 27th May 2008.

²⁵ Interview from Aisha Mukhtar, UNIFEM on 26th May 2008.

²⁶ Interview from Rahdeen S.Ali, DIL on 28th

²⁷ Interview from Dr.Fareeha Zafar, Society for the Advancement of Education (SAHE), Lahore on 10th June 2008.

hope that Pakistan can get UPE by 2015²⁸. In this connection the role of NCHD seems quite impressive but in reality NCHD programmes made only few people to go to schools²⁹.

3.1.13 Availability and condition of schools

- The poor condition of public schools in Pakistan has a negative effect on the overall enrolment rates. The situation varies between schools in urban and rural areas, and between provinces as shown in Table 6.
- Research evidence increasingly shows that financial costs and physical presence or absence of adequate schooling facilities are important factors in determining the expansion of enrolment. Moreover, the availability of public schools has worsened during the last decade³⁰

Table.6

Physical Conditions of public schools (percentages) 2002-03					
	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Balochistan	Pakistan
Without Building					
Urban	18	9	11	8	16
Rural	13	30	10	10	
Without a boundary wall					
Urban	54	23	26	48	55
Rural	33	61	51	77	
Without electricity					
Urban	84	39	40	80	79
Rural	54	83	75	94	
Without water					
Urban	19	28	29	38	44
Rural	25	57	55	87	
Without toilet					
Urban	42	23	31	70	60
Rural	64	61	51	84	

Source: SPDC Report 2002-03

3.1.14 Public Vs Private Sector

- The private sector has a significant share in the delivery of elementary education during recent years. At present there are 36,096 private (mostly profit making) institutions in the country.
- It is estimated that private schools account for 28% of total enrollment. Evidence suggests that the private sector is expanding its share in service provision. Approximately 61% of the total private institutions are located in urban areas whereas 39% are in rural areas. Unreliable evidence suggests that despite their limited capacity to bear the expense of primary education

²⁸ Interview from Habib ur Rehman, Ministry of Education on 3rd June 2008.

²⁹ Focused group discussion

³⁰ Interview from Habib ur Rehman, Ministry of Education on 3rd June 2008.

the low-income households are opting for private schools even where government schools are available (Kazmi 2005).

- PIHS indicates that enrolment rates in government schools have declined since 1995-96 particularly a large decline is observed in rural areas.
- People prefer private schools not only due to good standard of education but also due to better quality of other services and excellent management system³¹. People want to secure future of their children, in financial terms, therefore they send their children to private schools. Contents of knowledge are not adequately covered in state schools as compared with the , private schools. The best indicator to compare quality of both government and private schools is simply to know about how many children become Doctor, Engineers etc. out of government schools and private schools³².
- Though fee in private schools is quite high even then people prefer private schools for their children mainly due to good teachers and better results³³, also children's security is higher in private schools.
- In Private schools teacher give full attention³⁴ to their students.
- Owing to lack of access to state schools, quality of education in state schools is considered to be extremely low
- Parents are also obsessed with "English Medium" education system, which is in turn linked with their social status³⁵.
- Better management and supervision, teacher's presence and a basic minimum standard³⁶ of education is ensured in private schools.
- By studying in private schools parents want to ensure their children's meaningful potential employment³⁷.

3.1.15 Quality of Education

- The quality of general education, as a whole, exhibits a wide range of variation. There are schools providing quality education of international standards, and there are schools whose students become barely literate after several years of education. The former are mainly urban based and too expensive for the poor.

³¹ Interview from Aisaha Muktar, UNIFEM on 26th May 2008.

³² Interview from Habib ur Rehman, Ministry of Education on 3rd June 2008.

³³ Interview from Ahmed Mukhtar, Media Person on 27th May 2008.

³⁴ Interview from Hafsa Sajjad, KASHF on 4th June 2008.

³⁵ Interview from Fareeha Sultan, PILER on 2nd June 2008.

³⁶ Interview from Dr.Fareeha Zafar, Society for the Advancement of Education (SAHE), Lahore on 10th June 2008.

³⁷ Interview from Khawar Mumtaz, Shirgat Gah on 4th June 2008.

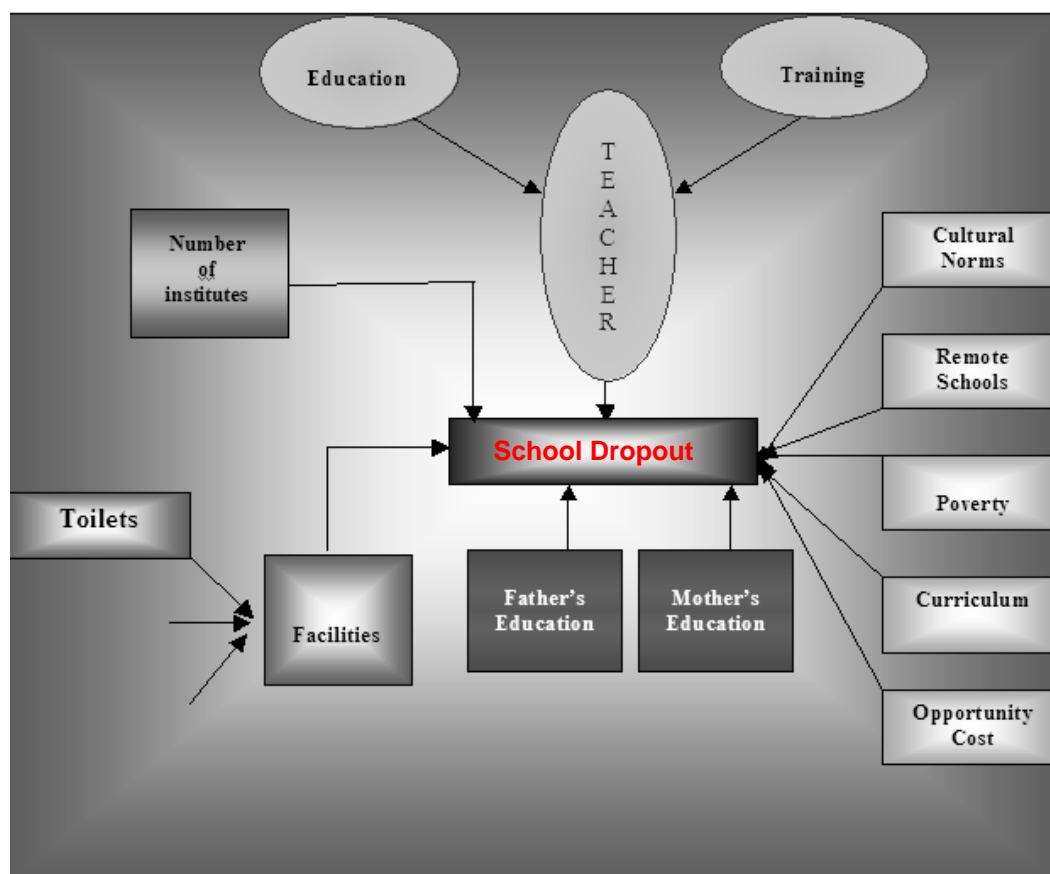
- Research on the quality of education in state and private schools proved that the performance of private school students in most subjects was better than state school students. Similarly, performance of urban students in all subjects was better than that of rural students. On gender basis boys students performance was significantly better than their girls counter parts in all subjects .One of the major indicators of quality education is the level of students' learning/achievement, and for this teacher's qualification and subject knowledge had strong correlation with students achievement. Research indicated that teacher academic and professional qualification had more impact on the performance of boy's students than on the performance of girl's students. Similarly, teacher's qualification had more influence on the performance of urban than on the rural students. It was also found that students taught by teachers holding Master degree got the highest score followed by students taught by teachers holding B.A degree. Moreover, teachers' experience had a positive influence on the students' achievement (Shami & Hussain 2006).
- Another area, which affects the quality of education, is the heavy burden on government school teachers in terms of the number of students per class. On efficiency grounds a ratio above 25 students to one teacher is likely to have negative effects on the quality of education (Kazmi 2005).
- Larger schools appear to work better than smaller ones, middle schools better than primary, schools near a metalled road better than more remote schools, and boys schools better than girls (Gazdar 1999).
- Media can play a major role in this connection by ensuring teachers' attendance and provision of shelter for out stationed³⁸ teachers can really improve quality of education in state schools.

3.1.16 Dropout and Transition Pattern

- In Urban areas, gender differences in transition percentages are almost non-existent, with larger proportions continuing through secondary levels. In rural areas, on the other hand, there is an acute shortage of institutes both for male and female to continue their education after primary level. In Pakistan there is a critical transition between education levels and a large number of children get out of school between the completion of the primary and start of the next level (Shami et al 2004-05).
- The overall transition situation from Primary school to middle school indicates that transition amongst girls is higher (66%) in rural areas as compared to boys (56%) , whereas, the transition of students from primary to middle school was (153%) for girls in urban areas and it was (110 %) for boys. From Middle school to high school the girls transition rate was lower (59%) as compared to boys (77%) in rural areas in 2004-05. In urban areas it was (110%) for girls and (108%) for boys from middle to high school in 2004-05 (Shami et al 2004-05).

³⁸ Interview from Khawar Mumtaz, Shirgat Gah on 4th June 2008.

- It is therefore strongly recommended that for retaining the children more emphasis should be given to economically weak children in respect of awards, some food/snacks, health care, flexible³⁹ time table and parents-community meetings.
- Drop out rates are not only alarmingly high, but have been increasing over time. School drop out is high in Pakistan due to cultural barriers and religious misunderstanding⁴⁰.
- It is the need of hour to explore the reasons of drop out rather than just focusing on enhancing⁴¹ enrolment.



3.1.17 Denni Madaris/Religious Schools

- Parallel to formal school system there are 12,162 Denni Madaris during 2005-06. Denni Madaris imparting religious education based on the Holy Quran, the Hadith (Sayings of the Prophet Muhammad- Peace be upon him), Islamic jurisprudence, logic, etc (Shami & Hussain 2006).
- Madrassa schools have been a major provider of social safety for the deprived and underprivileged in the country for years. Because of serious resource constraints (most are run

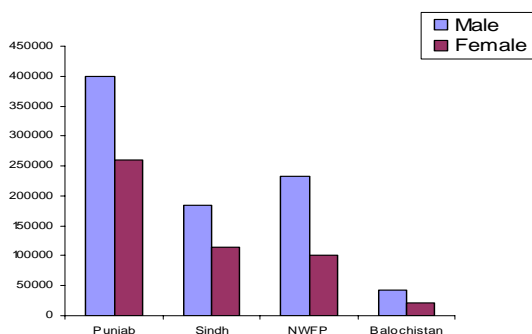
³⁹ Interview from Habib ur Rehman, Ministry of Education on 3rd June 2008.

⁴⁰ Interview from Hafsa Sajjad, KASHF on 4th June 2008.

⁴¹ Interview from Aisaha Muktar, UNIFEM on 26th May 2008.

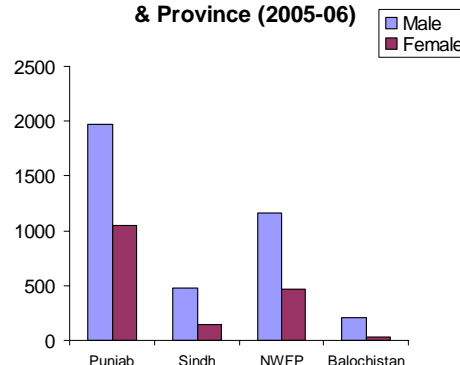
on charity), they have not been able to provide economically meaningful education (mainly due to unqualified teachers) to their students. Recently 8000 Madaris are being brought into mainstream of education (Economic Survey of Pakistan 2006-07). With a project of 1 billion teaching of Math, Science and English is made compulsory in Madaris.

Enrolment in Deeni Madaris by Gender & Province (2005-06)



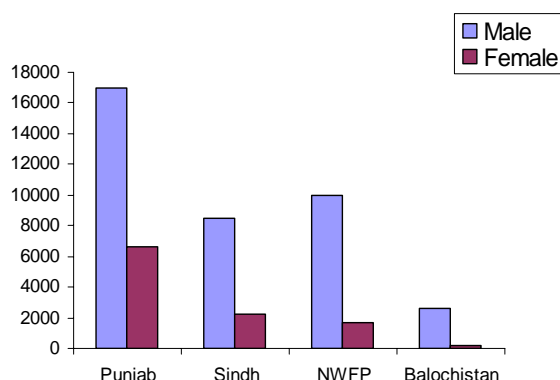
Source: Pakistan Education Statistics (various years)

Number of Deeni Madaris by Gender & Province (2005-06)



Source: Pakistan Education Statistics (various years)

Number of Teachers in Deeni Madaris by Gender & Province (2005-06)



The main focus of Denni Madaris is on religious education, they should teach contemporary education⁴² too. These Madaris can help to make economy meaningfully strong⁴³ if all the Madaris get registered and maintained, especially the curriculum needs to be revised to make it economically

⁴² Interview from Khalid Hussain, Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IRPI) on 29th May 2008.

⁴³ Interview from Rahedeen.S.Ali, DIL on 28th May 2008.

meaningful⁴⁴. Students of Madaris don't find reasonable jobs and alternatively they have to acquire another degree for better⁴⁵ job.

3.1.18 Role of Teachers

- The majority of primary school teachers, particularly women have had less than 10 years of schooling. They have often not studied core subjects, such as mathematics and science, therefore, generally lack of knowledge of the subject matter and are unable to communicate effectively.
- Most of the teachers are inflexible in adapting to changing learning needs. Also, There is little motivation for most teachers because the system does not provide incentives for quality performance⁴⁶ in terms of advancement opportunities and improvement in working conditions, and suitable increase in salaries, which are low.
- There is nothing in the law that prevents the education department from terminating a primary school teacher's services. So a government schoolteacher's job is secure (Gazdar 1999). Government teachers may be better trained but they have no accountability that is why their performance is poor than the private school⁴⁷ teachers.
- Men represent the great majority of college and university faculty worldwide, and the main reason is less PhD recipient of females (Ahsan 2003).
- There is no regular budget for teaching aid and learning material, and there is no accreditation system also teachers' assessment of capabilities is not done properly, after devolution even illiterate teachers⁴⁸ were hired by Nazims.
- It is need of the hour; right man for the right job formula may be applied. Teaching profession should be considered as highly intellectual activity and there should be equal number of schools/ colleges for females (Proportionate to population). Genius lot of students (both male and female) should be provided with genius teachers. Lady teachers should have national and international exposure⁴⁹. There is an extreme need of PTAs and PTSc⁵⁰ to flourish. Also, there is a need of school monitoring committees in govt schools to improve⁵¹ education standard.

⁴⁴ Interview from Aisaha Muktar, UNIFEM on 26th May 2008.

⁴⁵ Interview from Ahmed Mukhtar, Media Person on 27th May 2008.

⁴⁶ Interview from A.D.Makin, IPS on 4th June 2008.

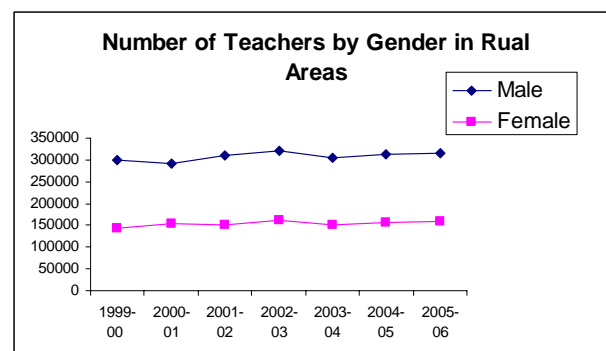
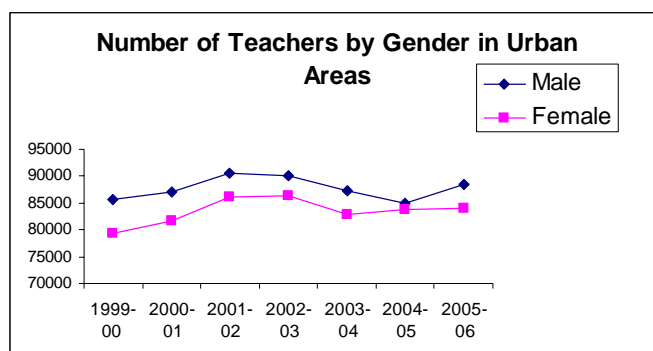
⁴⁷ Focused group discussion

⁴⁸ Interview from Habib ur Rehman, Ministry of Education on 3rd June 2008.

⁴⁹ Interview from A.D.Makin, IPS on 4th June 2008.

⁵⁰ Interview from Hyder Shar, Lead Pakistan on 26th May 2008.

⁵¹ Interview from Khawar Mumtaz, Shirgat Gah on 4th June 2008.



In urban areas number of male and female teachers is almost same. Whereas, in rural areas the gap between numbers of teachers of both gender is quite wide as shown in the above graphs. SMS and PTAs are really effective⁵². Policy makers should learn from the lesson of WFP education programs whereby the provision of edible oils was made to ensure enrolment of students and presence of teachers in schools, because in other programmes where free books or a monthly stipend is provided, the outcome is thwarted by the corruption involved.

3.1.19 Emerging and Chronic Issues of Pakistan's Education Sector⁵³

Table. 7

Emerging Issues	Chronic Issues
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased growth of private sector in education Growing poverty Insecurity and violence against women increased Chalk out steps to increase female literacy ratio No implementation of devised education policies Reduction in dropout ratio Poor quality of infrastructure Education facilities not developed with the pace of increasing population Due to hiking inflation rate, teachers find tuitions in the evening times Less opportunities of employment for the future generation Big differences in government and private education systems Class discrimination Education become an expensive commodity especially for the poor people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Misuse of funds Substandard education Focus on religious education Economic constraints of teachers Low budget sharing of private sector in education Social disparities among the people in urban and rural areas Weak planning and management of Ministry of Education Poor commitment level of teachers Low financial allocation in education sector by the State Potential individuals do not opt teaching profession Low quality instructional material development Out dated teaching methodologies Lack of sincerity from GoP and teachers' side

⁵² Interview from Habib ur Rehman, Ministry of Education on 3rd June 2008.

⁵³ Note: Information in table 7 is the analysis of primary data

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education system is not thought provoking • Lower pace of the application of the technology • Poor indigenous research • Lack of Policy analysis and lack of innovation • Non- Professional management (both private and government schools) • Least priority in budget allocation by the government • Enrolment rate is high at primary level but drop out rate is even higher than enrolment rate 	
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3.1.20 Institutional Arrangements

Although education is a Provincial and district function, the management structure involves the Federal level as well. The Local Government Plan was developed in the year 2000 in which the management and responsibility for elementary education was shifted from Federal and Provincial levels to district and local councils. Some of the key management functions are listed below:

- The Punjab government is providing funds to the district government under the Khushal (Prosperous) Pakistan Programme fund for poverty reduction.
- All academic education institutions are the responsibility of the provincial governments, whereas federal government is responsible for policy making, coordination and advisory authority on education, assists in curriculum development, accreditation and some financing of research. The executive authority is Ministry of Education in close collaboration with counter-parts in Provincial education departments. Universities are autonomous bodies supervised and controlled by their own syndicates. A vice-Chancellor who is the academic and administrative head of the university heads syndicate (Shami & Hussain 2006).
- The GoP implemented a Social Action Program (SAP II, 1996-00) to improve the delivery of basic social services including basic education. SAP encouraged community participation in site selection, hiring of local female teachers and ongoing community participation via SMCs or PTAs. This is in fact the most effective way of introducing community participation in schooling (Khan 1999). On the other hand, the fake SMCs/PTAs were drawing funds, the process of issuing grants is susceptible to political interference and line department officials were demanding bribes⁵⁴ to release grants.
- **Ministry of Education at Federal Level**
- Develops the national education policy

⁵⁴ Interview from A.D.Makin, IPS on 4th June 2008.

- Provides guidance to the provincial education departments and textbook boards
- Sets teachers' pay scales
- Define requirements for teacher qualification to improve the quality of Education
- Develop a curriculum at the national level
- **Department of Education at Provincial Level**
 - Responsible for teacher's training
 - Ensure access to schools for both girls and boys
 - Influence the Federal government in developing a good quality curriculum
 - Set-up a criteria to determine the qualification of teachers
- **Education Department at District Level**
 - Responsible for allocating resources to different branches of education at the local level
 - A separate account has been opened for district governments and the funds from the federal and provincial levels of government are transferred to district government
 - Prepare the annual budget for primary and secondary education
 - Manage teaching and non-teaching staff
 - Provide funds for establishing new schools
 - Regular school inspections to ensure quality
 - Teacher evaluations
 - Planning, monitoring and evaluation of the district education system e.g.financial records etc

3.1.21 National Education Policy (1998 – 2010)

- Free compulsory education
- Develop a standard curricula for public and private schools
- Revise the examination and student assessment system to improve the quality of education

The Ministry of Education has placed a new education policy for proposals and suggestions before its finalization. The draft policy itself states the older policy was supposed to be good for the period 1998-2010 but not achieved its aims and it was clear by 2005 and so a new look on the policy is needed⁵⁵. The new education policy is in its final stages of approval.

The National Education Policy (1998-2010) has almost covered its tenure and no significant and visible changes have been observed. It was basically an overambitious policy with least practical objectives⁵⁶ for implementation. In fact Pakistan has an unprecedented history of producing excellent

⁵⁵ Interview from Khawar Mumtaz, Shirgat Gah on 4th June 2008.

⁵⁶ Interview from A.D.Makin, IPS on 4th June 2008.

documents of plans and policies, which could not be implemented. Hence, present education policy⁵⁷ is bringing no social change in relation to its stated aims and objectives ..

3.1.22 GoP current Projects: Provincial and District Level

Table.8

Punjab	
Project title	Objective
Model Districts for Literacy Campaign	To achieve 100% literacy rate
Literate Punjab Program	Establishment of 40,000 adult literacy centers and 31000 Non Formal Basic Education
Crash Literacy Programme for Rural Women in Southern Punjab	To enhance literacy rate
Sindh	
Project title	Objective
Adult Literacy Programme under (Education Sector Reform ESR)	To graduate 30398 illiterate from 970 adult literacy centers
NWFP	
Project title	Objective
Literacy for all in NWFP	To establish 15567 centers to catering to 82243 illiterates & establishing 1100 learning centers in earthquake affected districts
Balochistan	
Project title	Objective
Integrated Literacy Model	To establish 86 literacy centers
Request for Assistance	To establish 835 literacy centers to impart literacy skills to 24923 illiterates

Source: Economic Survey (2006-07)

Education programmes need to be planned in a better way⁵⁸ with deadlines. Unless the outcomes of GoP projects are not known by public, there is no credibility of government projects. NGOs should have confidence over GOP. The real deficiency is not only at developing projects but it also exists at various levels of implementation and administrations. There is a strong need for putting in place an effective monitoring and evaluation system aiming at effective implementation of these projects .

3.1.23 Donors' Assistance for Pakistan's Education Sector

Donors' assistance for Pakistan's education sector consists of loans, grants, and technical assistance, which comes from different sources. Pakistan received loans from three multilateral organizations

⁵⁷ Interview from Dr.Fareeha Zafar, Society for the Advancement of Education (SAHE), Lahore on 10th June 2008.

⁵⁸ Interview from Hafsa Sajjad, KASHF on 4th June 2008.

(ADB, IDB & WB) and grants are made by different international organizations (see Annex for details).

There is an extreme lack of synchronization among donor agencies and the GoP for improving literacy rate of Pakistan. In reality, donors have their own agendas rather most of the donations⁵⁹ are experimental and not real contribution to the system. Hence the government and donors need to have missionary zeal if they want to see real results of their efforts.

Coalition part is missing in the efforts of donors and GoP in setting objectives of the education sector. To close gender gaps in the education sector massive intervention is required by GoP. These interventions might be appointment of qualified teachers, provision of better competitive infrastructure⁶⁰ and free education centers.

3.1.24 Changes in the Education over last ten years⁶¹

Table. 9

What has changed	What has not changed
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enrolment increased but not up to the target of GoP Number of teachers increased Physical facilities improved Management system of schools improved Attitude of Planners and managers who plan education policies in ignorance of ground realities is changed Increased awareness among communities and their participation kachi class has been formalized in govt schools The policy formulation has been consultative and development agencies are also taking active part in the policy formulation. There is change in people's approach that education is not only for boys and like to send their children in private schools Allocation of funds megerly increased. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poor quality of education Education as least priority areas of the GoP Teacher status in terms of fewer respect and awfully low salaries Teaching field considered as "low income" and "low status" job Insecurity of teachers in rural areas Physical violence from children towards teacher Moral values of education sector have been weakened Government schools education is considered as a purchasable commodity in urban areas Drop out remained high and middle school enrolment is below than set targets. The policies and plans still reflect a narrow approach to literacy defined as the basic acquisition of the reading, writing and numeracy skills rather than a broader approach to include purposeful use of literacy in a variety of contexts.

⁵⁹ Interview from A.D.Makin, IPS on 4th June 2008.

⁶⁰ Interview from Hafsa Sajjad, KASHF on 4th June 2008.

⁶¹ Note: information in table.10 is the analysis of primary data

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is a lack of commitment and efficient management, absence of a realistic implementation plan and poor utilization of allocated resources.
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Practical factors impeding change	Practical factors assisting change
Infrastructure: girls' schools without toilets and boundary walls	Donor organizations and their allocation to increase girl's education
Qualified women teachers not available	Number of private sector institutions and NGOs providing services
Dearth of girl's secondary schools	Government incentive schemes
Transportation problems/ Distance to schools	Marginal increase in women's employment trends
Amenities like water and electricity lacking in schools	Numeric disparity of enrollment by sex reducing in urban areas
Inefficiency, wastage and leakage of financial resources	
Early marriage of girls	
Child labor and domestic work burden	

Structural factors inhibiting change	Structural factors assisting change
Low budgetary allocation for sector	MDGs, CRC, Education Sector Reforms and official policy commitments
Restraints on girls' mobility	Devolution and local bodies governance
Low quality of education imparted	All major societal stakeholders agree in principle on importance of primary education for girls
Hierarchies impede inter-cooperation in bureaucracy between federal, provincial and local levels and with civil society actors	Increasing value being placed at community level on girl's education
Low status of women propels perception of girls' education as 'investment without returns'	Increasing prominent women role models provide motivation and aspiration
Low ownership of agenda of educating girls	
Perceived subversive potential of education	

A nascent development has been a barrage of attacks on girls' schools in the NWFP province and FATA region by militants. Among the earliest reported incidents was an attack on the Murree Christian School near Islamabad by militants in August 2002, in which six staffers were killed. In 2003 there were media reports of girls schools torched in Dir Kohistan, in 2005, in Bannu, an NGO run school and its staff (of Khwendo Kor) was attacked and in 2006, two women teachers were killed in the Government Girls' High Scholl at Khag Cheri in Upper Orakzai agency. By 2008, these attacks have escalated to high frequency, and girls' schools in Dera Adam Khel and Mardan have been closed due to attacks and threats of attack. Notices have been posted on buildings to close schools or face assaults. These unprecedented attacks have been claimed by Islamist militias as a way of 'purging' Western influences and imposition of foreign values, but have been met with resentment in local communities.